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Entered as second-class matter December 26, 1936, at the post office at Pullman, Washington, under Act of August 24, 1912.

Research Studies of the State College of Washington is published in Pullman, Washington, by the State College of Washington. It is issued four times a year—in March, June, September, and December.

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RESEARCH STUDIES of the STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

Volume XIV

March, 1946

Number 1

INQUISITION PAPERS OF MEXICO

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

From time to time, for many years, documentary papers of the Inquisition have appeared in print. For the most part, publication of this material has been in the form of excerpts, transcribed from manuscript papers of the Inquisition in various archives and libraries. These excerpts have been used largely as incidental references in general religious works, in works dealing specifically with the Inquisition, or in historical studies, particularly those that treat Hispanic countries.¹ A preponderance of the material cited has dealt with torture and other forms of inquisitorial punishment. These excerpts stir up a curiosity in the mind of the reader as to what the whole of the Inquisition's procedure was in a given trial.

The presentation in complete form of all the documents of certain trials held by the Inquisition in Mexico is the chief plan and purpose of the present publication. All the papers of a given trial were kept together and preserved together, and they can thus be presented as a chronological unit. If for no other reason, because of the wealth of local and other historical detail, these documents are of inestimable value for the history of America, and, in particular, for the history of

¹ Examples of this type of treatment will be found in Juan Antonio Llorente, *Historia crítica de la Inquisición en España* (2 vols, Barcelona, 1870); *id*, *Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne* (4 vols, Paris, 1817-18); Julio Melgares Marin, *Procedimientos de la Inquisición* (2 vols., Madrid, 1886); Henry C Lea, *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain Connected with the Inquisition* (Philadelphia, 1890); *id*, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (4 vols, New York, 1906-07); *id*, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (New York, 1922); Vicente Riva Palacio *et al*, *El libro rojo* (Mexico, 1870, and 2 vols, Mexico, 1905-06); Genaro García, *Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la historia de México* (36 vols, Mexico, 1905-11), V and XXVIII; José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México* (Santiago de Chile, 1905) and other works by him on the Inquisition in America; Pablo Martínez del Río "*Alumbrado*" (Mexico, 1937); Francisco Javier García Rodrigo, *Historia verdadera de la Inquisición* (3 vols., Madrid, 1876-77); Manuel Romero de Terreros, *Un bibliófilo en el Santo Oficio* (Mexico, 1920); and Ricardo Palma, "Anales de la Inquisición de Lima," in *Apéndice a mis últimas tradiciones peruanas* (Barcelona, n.d.), pp. 339-535.

Mexico. Because the Inquisitors left no stone unturned in tracking down in minutest detail, not only the genealogy, but the entire personal experience of their prisoners, their investigation brought forth and preserved in their official documentary records the life of the people of their time. We are able to know what they ate and drank, the living conditions in their homes, their work and their travel, their joys and sorrows, not to mention their religious life and practice, which were, of course, at variance with the Church and often in active conflict with it.²

This is not, in any sense, a study of religion, and there is no thought, attempt, or purpose of sitting in judgment on any religious practice. The sole purpose of this study is the presentation, in available form, of certain historical documents that will add their contribution of original source material to the growing store of historical documents already published.³

The papers of a few trials of the Inquisition have been published in their entirety,⁴ but these publications have usually been made with certain alterations and modernizations of the language of the manuscript documents. The transcriptions of the present papers (pages 19-81) have been made in accordance with the system of Spanish paleography that aims to present the document as it was written. The only alterations here permitted are those of punctuation, capitalization,

² Cf. Gilberto Freyre, "Some Aspects of the Social Development of Portuguese America," in *Concerning Latin American Culture* (ed. Charles C. Griffin, New York, 1940), p. 86: "Those Inquisition papers provide excellent material for the social historian, and through them it is possible for a modern student of early colonial society in Brazil to understand some of the most intimate problems of social relations in that period. Even problems of economic relations are brought to light in those papers in a very illuminating way. . . ."

³ This same criterion, less objectively followed, guided Medina in his monumental works in this field. Cf. José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Lima, 1569-1820* (2 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1887), I, p. viii: "Así, pues, aquí no hallará el curioso doctrinas, sino sólo hechos, que apreciará conforme a su criterio, a su educación i a las tendencias de su espíritu."

⁴ Cf. the reproductions of the trials of Luis de Carvajal (el viejo), in *Publicaciones del Archivo general de la nación* (Mexico), XX (1932), pp. 205-372; of Luis de Carvajal (el mozo), *ibid.*, XXVIII (1935); and of Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte, in *Boletín del Archivo general de la nación* (Mexico), VI (1935), pp. 99-148, 305-08, 420-64, 578-620, 757-77; VII (1926), pp. 88-142, 256-72, 402-36, 596-99; VIII (1937), pp. 1-172. An entirely different treatment of the trials of these first two, a kind of novelistic biographical study, will be found in Alfonso Toro, *La familia Carvajal* (2 vols., Mexico, 1944). See my review of this work in *Pacific Historical Review*, XV (1946), pp. 102-04. The *Boletín del Archivo general de la nación* (Mexico) has published the papers of other, briefer trials and plans to publish more. See also Luis González Obregón, *Don Guillén de Lampart; la Inquisición y la independencia en el siglo XVII* (Paris-Mexico, 1908).

and accentuation, all of which are wholly erratic and utterly inconsistent in the documents. Abbreviations are solved, the letters supplied in the solutions being printed in italics.

In lieu of a complete translation of the trial papers, a thorough summary of the trial is given, step by step (pages 9-17). This summary obviates the necessity of wading through many legal and technical formulae and the tiresome repetitions of the titles and dignities of the Inquisitors, to say nothing of the many legal affirmations and denials made by the prisoner, the lawyers, the witnesses, and the physicians who are called in for advice and testimony. An index is supplied (pages 82-87) for reference to the principals in the trial and salient features connected with it. Some notes of identification of persons and places and some of textual clarification have been deemed advisable.

I. THE TRIAL OF SIMÓN DE LEÓN

1647

INTRODUCTION

The effective establishment of the Inquisition in Spain on March 31, 1492, made its participation in the Spanish colonization scheme, after the Discovery, a foregone conclusion. Many years elapsed before the Holy Office was officially established in Mexico and elsewhere in the New World, but the Inquisitors had been actively at work almost from the beginning.¹ The general establishment for America was ordered by Philip II on January 25, 1569, and specifically for Mexico on August 16, 1570.² The Inquisitors arrived in Mexico in the middle of September, 1571.³

The work of the Inquisitors was varied indeed, as the many published lists of prisoners and their offenses in *autos de fe* bear full

¹ Cf. the document "Poder de Inquisidores a los obispos de las Indias e a sus oficiales e a cada uno de sus districtos," dated at Madrid, July 22, 1517, printed by José Toribio Medina, *La primitiva Inquisición americana, 1493-1569* (2 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1914), II, pp. 3-5, and the succeeding documents.

² José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México* (Santiago de Chile, 1905), pp. 15-20. A facsimile of the *real cédula* for Mexico is reproduced in Vicente Riva Palacio *et al*, *México a través de los siglos* (5 vols., Mexico-Barcelona, 1888-89), II, p. 403. The Inquisition was abolished in Mexico in 1813, re-established in 1815, and finally extinguished on June 16, 1820. Cf. Medina, *op. cit.*, pp. 455, 465-66, and 505. The beginning and end dates of the Inquisition in Mexico vary, in month and day, in the works of different authors, but the year dates are consistently 1571-1820.

³ Medina, *La primitiva Inquisición americana*, I, p. 508.

witness.⁴ There were cases of apostasy, heresy, idolatry, bigamy, witchcraft, blasphemy, incest, perjury, in fact, of most of the crimes in the calendar. But running through all the lists are the ever-recurring cases of the Jews, whose presence in America seemed almost a mystery to the Ministry of the Indies in Spain, inasmuch as so many precautions were taken to prevent their taking passage on ships bound for the New World. The Inquisition tracked them down in whole families, member by member, but could never seem to wipe them out or convert them all.⁵

Of such a family was Simón de León, a fifteen-year-old boy, whose trial and imprisonment by the Inquisition in Mexico covered the period from April 3, 1647, to June 20, 1650.⁶ One after another, all the members of his family were brought before the august and terrifying Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. They were Portuguese Jews and, as such, were immediately suspect.⁷ Time and

⁴ Such lists may be seen in Medina, *op cit*, II, pp 212-82; Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1886), pp 375-89; *id*, *Obras* (10 vols, Mexico, 1896-99), I, pp 271-316; Genaro García, *Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la historia de México* (36 vols, Mexico, 1905-11), V and XXVIII; *Publicaciones del Archivo general de la nación* (Mexico), XX (1932), pp. 9-13 and 47-161; *Boletín del Archivo general de la nación* (Mexico), IV (1933), pp. 332-43; Gregorio Martín de Guíjo, "Diario de sucesos notables . . . años de 1648 a 1664," in *Documentos para la historia de México* (4 series, 20 vols., Mexico, 1853-57), 1st ser., I and after; Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia en México* (5 vols, Tlalpam, 1921-28), III, pp. 151-80; and Luis González Obregón, *Época colonial, México viejo* (segunda serie, Mexico, 1895), pp 83-90 and 331-400 (ed. 1900, pp. 675-721)

⁵ Possibly the Carvajal family was the most pursued of all those in Mexico, as is clearly shown in Alfonso Toro, *La familia Carvajal* (2 vols, Mexico, 1944). See also Vols. XX (1932) and XXVIII (1935) of the *Publicaciones del Archivo general de la nación* (Mexico) and Charles K. Landis, *Carvajal the Jew, a Legend of Monterrey* (Vineland, N. J., 1894). Cf. García Icazbalceta, *Obras*, I, pp. 283-84: "Prendiéronse familias enteras . . . iba el apostólico celo ejecutando severidades en los pérfidos hebreos . . . mandándolos traer a las cárceles secretas. . . . Llenáronse las cárceles de reos. . . ."

⁶ He was actually released on April 27, 1649, a little more than two years after his trial began, although his final "clearance" certificate was not issued until this later date. The MS is in the collection of Mexican manuscript papers of the Library of the State College of Washington. His *sambenito* is not listed as hung in the Cathedral, as was the custom, along with those of other persons who appeared in the *auto de fe* of March 30, 1648. See the list for this year, published by Luis González Obregón, *op cit*. (1900), pp. 698-700, and also Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI*, p. 300.

⁷ Cf. Henry C. Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (New York, 1922), p. 234: ". . . the results of the four autos [Mexico, 1646-49] were two hundred and seven penitents of whom a hundred and ninety were Jews, nearly all Portuguese"; Rafael López, in the introduction to "Procesos de Luis de Carvajal (el mozo)," *Publicaciones del Archivo general de la nación* (Mexico), XXVIII (1925), p. viii: "No podía ser más delicada la situación de los judíos en la Nueva España del siglo XVI. Aparte la fe que profesaban antagónica de la

again their names had been drawn into the proceedings of the earlier trial of Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte, who was burned alive in the great *auto general* of April 11, 1649, and whose mother had earlier suffered a like fate.⁸ Simón de León appeared as a penitent in the *auto de fe* of 1648. We know nothing of him thereafter, except for his petition for release, dated April 26, 1649, and his discharge certificate, dated June 20, 1650.

The trial of Simón de León is typical of the inquisitorial trials of Jews. He was subjected to all the customary legal and ecclesiastical procedure, medical inspection, secret witnesses, secret imprisonment, and threats of torture. Thoroughly frightened by this last device, he acceded to all that was required of him by the Inquisitors, and thus escaped the Inquisition's most powerful and dreaded weapon.

Of all the members of Simón de León's family who suffered at the hands of the Inquisition, his father, Duarte de León Jaramillo, has received the most attention from writers on the Inquisition.⁹ He was burned in the *auto de fe* of 1649, and Simón's mother, Isabel Núñez, was reconciled in the same *auto*.¹⁰ His maternal grandparents, Francisco Núñez and Justa Méndez, had both worn the *sambenito* and were, respectively, reconciled (1646) and burned in effigy (1649).¹¹

católica, el ser portugueses en su mayoría, los hacía blanco de una persecución sin tregua, que no bastaba a detener el secreto con que se entregaban a sus prácticas religiosas"; and Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Obras*, I, p. 285: "Los judíos presos eran casi todos portugueses, o descendientes de tales. . . ." Cf. also Pablo Martínez del Río, "*Alumbrado*" (Mexico, 1937), p. 11: ". . . entre los procesados por la Inquisición de la Nueva España es verdaderamente notable la proporción de personas de origen portugués."

⁸ The trial of Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte is published in "Causa criminal contra Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte, por judaizante," in *Boletín del Archivo general de la nación* (Mexico), VI-VIII (1935-37). See also Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, p. 233, and Luis González Obregón, *op. cit.* (1900), pp. 241-46.

⁹ Not to be confused with Duarte de León, uncle of Luis de Carvajal (el viejo), cited by Pablo Martínez del Río, *op. cit.*, p. 10. See n. 5, above. Cf. also Mariano Cuevas, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 166-67; the trial of Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte, cited in n. 8, above, *passim*; Alfonso Toro, *op. cit.*, I, p. 26; and Genaro García, *op. cit.*, XXVIII, pp. 109, 197, 201, 216, and 263. In all, he appeared in three *autos de fe*: 1628 (trial suspended), 1635 (reconciled and fined two thousand pesos), and 1649 (burned). See Medina, *Historia . . . de la Inquisición en México*, pp. 149, 164, and 198.

¹⁰ Cf. Luis González Obregón, *op. cit.* (1900), p. 708. On the burning of Duarte de León, after strangulation, see Gregorio Martín de Guijo, "Diario de sucesos notables . . . años de 1648 a 1664," *loc. cit.*, I, pp. 48-50. Isabel Núñez was to have been burned also, but she was reconciled at the last possible moment, given two hundred lashes ten days later, and returned to prison (*ibid.*, pp. 51, 53).

¹¹ Luis González Obregón, *op. cit.* (1900), pp. 695 and 703. The *sambenito* was a kind of sleeveless smock, resembling advertising boards, suspended from

His paternal uncle, Simón Montero, was burned in 1649, and his maternal uncle, Luis Pérez Roldán, was reconciled in 1649.¹² His maternal uncle and aunt, Juan de Rojas and Francisca Núñez, were both burned in effigy in 1649.¹³ As for his brothers and sisters, Francisco was reconciled in 1647 but taken into custody again and sentenced, in the *auto* of 1648, to exile, two hundred lashes, and life imprisonment; and Jorge was reconciled in 1649.¹⁴ Ana, aged thirteen, Antonia, fifteen, and Clara, twenty-three, were all reconciled in 1648, along with Simón.¹⁵ Genaro García has reprinted the extract of Simón's trial, as originally published by the Inquisition in 1648. After an *auto de fe*, it was the Inquisition's custom to publish a report of the same, in the form of a few paragraphs concerning each of the participants. The extract for Simón de León is contained in five short paragraphs.

the shoulders and reaching to the knees. It was red or yellow and bore various painted devices indicative of the sentence of the wearer. Crosses, flames, devils, and snakes were customary devices. A bonnet resembling a bishop's mitre or dunce cap was also worn. It bore painted devices like the *sambenito*. Both are described and illustrated in Luis González Obregón, *op cit* (1900), pp. 107-09. See n. 6, above.

¹² *Id.*, pp. 706 and 703, and Mariano Cuevas, *op cit*, p. 168. Luis Pérez Roldán married the sister of the wife of Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte. See "Causa criminal contra Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte, por judaizante," *loc. cit.*, VII (1936), p. 403, and Medina, *op cit*, pp. 164, 166, and 200.

¹³ Luis González Obregón, *op cit* (1900), pp. 702 and 704, and Medina, *op cit*, p. 201.

¹⁴ Luis González Obregón, *op. cit* (1900), pp. 697 and 701; Genaro García, *op cit*, XXVIII, pp. 109-11 and 186-89; and Medina, *op cit*, pp. 182, 184, and 197.

¹⁵ Genaro García, *loc cit.*, pp. 197-203, 216-20, 263-65, and Medina, *op. cit.*, p. 184. The Inquisition publication of this *auto de fe* bears the title: *RELACION DEL TERCERO AVTO PARTICVLAR DE FEE QUE EL TRIBVNAL DEL SANTO OFFICIO DE LA INQVISICION DE los Reynos, y Prouincias de la Nueva España, celebró en la Iglesia de la Casa Professa de la Sagrada Religion de la Compañia de IESVS à los treinta del mes de Março de 1648 años. Siendo Inquisidores en el, los muy Illustrres Señores Doctor Don Francisco de Estrada, y Escouedo. Doctor Don Iuan Saenz de Mañosa, y Licenciado Don Bernabe de la Higuera, y Amarilla*. Impreso en Mexico. En la Imprenta de Iuan Ruyz. Año de 1648. In this same volume, Genaro García has reprinted the Inquisition's extracts of the *autos* of 1646 and 1647. For 1647, see also this same author's work, V, pp. 152-62. For further information on the *auto* of 1649, see R(odolfo) G(ómez), "Un auto de fe en el siglo XVII," *Boletín del Archivo general de la nación* (Mexico), XIV (1943), pp. 215-59.

THE TRIAL OF SIMÓN DE LEÓN
(Summary)

Simón de León, aged fifteen, is ordered arrested by the Inquisition of Mexico on the charge of being a Judaizer, or practicing Jew, on April 3, 1647. The arrest is made and he is imprisoned on that date. He is brought before the Inquisitors for the first session of his trial on the following day. The presiding Inquisitor is Dr. Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca.¹

The customary oath is administered. Simón de León promises to tell the truth in this and in all sessions of his trial, and to keep secret everything that he might see or hear or that might be considered and acted upon in his trial. He gives his name, says that he was born in the city of Mexico, that he is fifteen years of age, that he is a tailor's apprentice in the shop of Juan de Fonseca, that he lives in the Calle de la Acequia Real, and that he was brought to the prison of the Holy Office yesterday, April 3, at night. He states his genealogy as follows²:

Father · Duarte de León Jaramillo, Portuguese, nationality uncertain, citizen of Mexico, storekeeper, prisoner of the Inquisition

Mother Isabel Núñez, wife of the above, native of Mexico, prisoner of the Inquisition.

Paternal grandparents no information.

Maternal grandparents: Francisco Núñez, probably Portuguese, deceased, buried in the Iglesia Mayor, reputed to have been condemned by the Inquisition to wear the *sambenito*, as a penitent Justa Méndez, wife of the above, probably Spanish, died in Mexico after her husband, buried in the Iglesia Mayor, reputed to have worn the *sambenito*

When asked to list his paternal uncles, Simón begs for mercy, saying he was deceived as a child, six or seven years ago, when he was taken by his parents into his father's storeroom, where he was told to believe in the Law of Moses, which they kept and in which he might be saved, that the Law of Christ was not good, that he should do as he was told and tell no one about this. He promised to obey his parents then, but he has since turned back to Christianity, and he now promises to live and die in the Law of Christ. He says that before he became a Jew, his father beat him and gave him only the poorest clothes, but afterward treated him well. On various occasions he broke the Jewish fast. At times, in the presence of the family,

¹ He began his service with the Inquisition on March 17, 1642. See Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México*, p. 171; the Introduction, above, n. 15; and Mariano Cuevas, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 153 and 163. Not to be confused with his uncle, Don Juan de Mañozca, Archbishop of Mexico.

² For the connection with the Inquisition of all the persons mentioned in the genealogy, see the final paragraph of the Introduction, above.

a crucifix about half a yard long was brought down from upstairs, placed face down on the counter of the store, and beaten with straps and clubs for about an hour. The crucifix was told that its law was not good. This ceremony, the only one he had ever witnessed, occurred at three o'clock in the afternoon, about a week ago.

The genealogy is now continued as follows:

Paternal uncles: Simón Montero, prisoner of the Inquisition, after coming from Spain.

Maternal uncles and aunts: Luis Pérez Roldán, native of Mexico, married to Isabel Núñez, both prisoners of the Inquisition; they have three children. Francisca Núñez, wife of Juan de Rojas, merchant, both deceased, no children.

Brothers and sisters: Clara Núñez, age uncertain, prisoner of the Inquisition; Francisco de León, condemned to wear the *sambenito* a few days ago, and reimprisoned; Antonia Núñez, prisoner of the Inquisition, age uncertain; Jorge de León, age uncertain, taken to Chametla by Juan Verde; and Ana Núñez, age uncertain, prisoner of the Inquisition.

Wife and children: unmarried, no children.

He relates that practically all the members of his family, from grandparents down, have been imprisoned by the Inquisition, but that this is the first time for him. He is a Christian, baptized and confirmed; he hears mass, confesses, and takes communion as ordered by the Church. He had a bull of the Holy Crusade, but he lost it; his father never bought a bull for himself, nor for any member of his family. He then crossed himself and recited the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo, Salve Regina, Commandments of the Law of God and of the Church, and the Sacraments. He states that he can read, but not very well, and he can write. He lists other towns and cities he has visited.

He is then asked whether he knows why he has been arrested, and he says he knows that it is because he is a Jew.

He is now warned to tell the truth in regard to any matter of which he, or anyone he knows, is blameworthy. After stating that he has told all and knows no more, he is returned to prison. He signs his confession. This is notarized and then officially accepted by Dr. Don Antonio de Gaviola, his accuser.³

The second session (*audiencia*) of the trial takes place on April 8, 1647. Simón de León is given his second warning to confess all, and

³ His service with the Inquisition began in November, 1642. See Medina, *ibid.*

he is urged to add to his confession anything he now recalls. He adds nothing of significance and is returned to his prison.

On the following day, April 9, an act of inspection is ordered to determine whether Simón de León is circumcized. Three Inquisitors preside: Dr. Don Francisco de Estrada y Escobedo, Dr. Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca, and Licenciado Don Bernabé de la Higuera y Amarilla.⁴ They call in four physicians of the Inquisition: Urbano Martínez, Juan de Correa, Sebastián del Castillo, and Francisco del Castillo. They are charged with secrecy and sent to the secret prisons, accompanied by the warden, Francisco Ruiz Marañón, to examine the prisoner. They report a unanimous negative decision on their return and sign the document to that effect.

On April 11, in another *audiencia*, the prisoner is warned a third time to tell the truth and to give his memory another going over. He says he has already told the truth and that, if he thinks of anything else, he will request an audience in order to relate it.

He is informed that, because he is a minor, a guardian will have to be appointed for him, and he is asked to choose one. He names Dr. Don Miguel de Ibarra, who is ordered to present himself for the customary oath. This man accepts the guardianship and takes the oath to protect his ward fully and completely. The guardian names Jerónimo del Castillo, warden of the penance prison, as guarantor for himself, and the two together renounce their rights and properties under the law, in protection of their ward, Simón de León. These declarations are witnessed and signed, and the guardianship is officially ordered. An additional oath to tell the truth is then required of Simón de León in the presence of his guardian. The prisoner's confession is then read back to him, and he reaffirms it in the presence of the guardian.

The prisoner is now informed that the prosecutor is about to make the formal accusation, that he now has an opportunity to unburden his conscience and expedite his case by telling the truth. He says he has told the truth. The prosecutor, Dr. Don Antonio de Gaviola, then presents a signed, formal accusation.

Simón de León is accused of observing the Law of Moses while presuming to be a Christian and while enjoying all the benefits of the

⁴ The first and last named began to serve the Inquisition on November 13, 1634, and August 19, 1643, respectively. See Medina, *ibid.* and the Introduction, above, n. 15.

Church and his baptism and confirmation. His apostasy is set forth in eleven numbered accusations:

- (1) Desertion from the true faith.
- (2) Ill treatment by his father before this desertion and good treatment thereafter.
- (3) Acceptance of instruction in the Jewish religion from his father.
- (4) Observance of Jewish fasts
- (5) Presence as a witness at the flagellation of a crucifix.
- (6) Presence as a witness at the circumcision of his sister ⁵
- (7) Acceptance of exhortations from his father for the observance of the Law of Moses
- (8) Observance of Jewish rites and ceremonies in the presence of others.
- (9) Failure of his father to take a bull of the Holy Crusade for him.
- (10) Observance of the Jewish Sabbath.
- (11) Hidden crimes, thus far maliciously concealed and yet to be revealed; being a practicing Jewish heretic, apostate, observer of the Law of Moses, abetter and concealer of Jewish heretics.

The accuser requests the Inquisitor to declare his accusation well-founded, and the prisoner to have incurred excommunication and condemnation to the greatest and most severe punishments allowed under the secular, pontifical, and inquisitorial law for such delinquents. He requests that the prisoner be handed over to the secular authority, his goods confiscated, and his crimes properly punished, to serve as an example to others. He further requests that, if necessary, the prisoner be put to the torture and remain there, with repetition of the torture, until he tells the truth. If need be, for the fulfillment of justice, he will make further requests. He swears that his accusation is not made out of malice.

The accusation is read to the prisoner in the presence of his guardian, and he is given an opportunity to answer each point in the accusation. He answers as follows:

- (1) True, and he has repented.
- (2) True, as confessed.
- (3) True, as confessed
- (4) True, as confessed.
- (5) True, as confessed.
- (6) He did not see this, and if the others did it alone, he did not see it.
- (7) True, as confessed.

⁵ Acts of this ceremony are cited and described in various places in the MS. The most detailed information is given on p. 78 of the MS, in reference to Simón's mother, Isabel Núñez. Duarte de León performed the ceremony by cutting a small piece of flesh from the left shoulder (but see n. 38 to the Spanish text of the MS), toasting it, and eating it.

- (8) He saw his brothers and sisters fast, but he himself observed and broke the fast only as already confessed
- (9) True, as confessed.
- (10) He never observed that this was so.
- (11) He has nothing to add to his confession. When he has, he will request an audience and confess it. He begs for mercy.

Asked to name counsel for his defense, he names Dr. Don Miguel de Ibarra. Then, admonished to tell the truth, he is returned to prison.

In another *audiencia*, on April 13, Simón de León is asked to add to his confession. He says he remembers nothing else. He is told to consult with his counsel in regard to his defense.

His confession, the accusation, and his replies are read to him. His lawyer advises him to unburden his conscience and expedite his case by telling the truth, to request the privilege of penance if he is guilty. He says that he has told all and requests to be absolved and freed, and that he be given penance for what he has confessed.

The prosecutor requests permission to prove his accusation, and the presiding Inquisitor so orders. The prosecutor then produces the testimony of the witnesses and requests its ratification and publication. Simón de León is returned to prison.

Another *audiencia* is held on April 30, and the Inquisitor again admonishes Simón de León to tell the truth. He is advised to complete his confession before the testimony of the witnesses is presented. He says he has nothing to add. The Inquisitor then orders the testimony presented, with the names of the witnesses and any circumstances that might lead to their identification concealed, in accordance with the practice of the Holy Office.⁶

To charges already made, the testimony of the first witness (Simón's sister Ana, aged thirteen) adds six detailed paragraphs that contain little new material. She tells of a broken rosary, of the flagellation of the crucifix, and of the observance of certain Jewish customs of eating, fasting, and bathing. She says her father would eat only all-black or all-brown chickens.

The second testimony is that of Simón's sister Antonia, aged fifteen. Her eight paragraphs of charges add little new material. She

⁶The identity of the witnesses is revealed in marginal notes in the MS. These marginal notes were added to the MS after April 11, 1649. This is made clear by the fact that, in the marginal note to the last paragraph on p. 80, Francisco Home is listed as dead. This man was burned in the *auto* of 1649. See Medina, *op cit.*, p. 200.

tells of two circumcisions her father performed on female members of the family.

Simón de León is now called upon to answer the charges in the testimony of the witnesses, point by point. He admits, as previously confessed, all except his knowledge of or presence at the flagellations and circumcisions. He is given three days to prepare a formal defense, with his counsel, against the accusations. He is returned to prison.

The next *audiencia* is on May 2. The prisoner is asked to add to his confession anything he may now have recalled. He says he has nothing to add. The testimony of the witnesses and his replies are read to him, and he again denies knowledge of the flagellations and circumcisions, saying he has been falsely accused in regard to them. He appeals for mercy on account of his youth and asks to be restored to the company of the faithful. He says that fear prevented his reporting his shortcomings to the Inquisition of his own accord, before his arrest. The defense rests.

The Inquisitor declares the first part of the trial concluded, after requiring of the prisoner another oath to tell the truth and after another reading before the prisoner, and ratification by him, of the entire proceedings of the trial to date. He is returned to prison.

A second *audiencia* is held on this May 2, in the absence of the prisoner. The three Inquisitors vote to administer torture, but one of them suggests that torture be threatened as if it were actually to be carried out. This suggestion is followed.

On May 4 the prisoner is brought before another *audiencia*. He has nothing to add to his confession. He is warned again to speak out and tell what he knows, since it appears that he is concealing a great deal, particularly in regard to the flagellations and circumcisions. He denies knowledge of these.

He is then informed that he has been recommended for torture by learned persons of good conscience. Because he persists in his denials, his sentence is pronounced.

He is condemned to be put to torture and to continue therein at the discretion of the Inquisitors, so that he may confess the truth. If he should die in the torture, suffer any lesion, loss of blood, or broken bone, it will be his own fault, not that of the Inquisitors, for his unwillingness to tell the truth. The guardian requests that the sentence be set aside, inasmuch as his ward has told the truth. His motion is denied and the prisoner is ordered to be taken to the torture chamber.

At this point, Simón de León says that he wants to tell the truth and begs for mercy. He is warned again and told to proceed. He gives a detailed description of five flagellations of the crucifix that he witnessed, each lasting an hour and carried out with the same ceremony. He describes the circumcisions of two of his sisters, performed by his father, in his presence. He says that fear of harsh punishment prevented his confessing these things before. He then tells of another flagellation.

He is taken to the chapel and, on returning, says he wants to tell the truth some more. He tells of secretly witnessing the circumcision of his brother Francisco and of coming upon his mother, immediately after his father had circumcised her. The physician of the Inquisition is then sent out to examine Simón's mother to determine whether she bears any mark of circumcision. The physician reports that she does bear a mark, like those of her daughters, Antonia and Ana. The prisoner, absent during these last procedures, is brought in, warned to tell the truth, and returned to prison.

On May 6, in another *audiencia*, the prisoner is brought in and asked what more he remembers by now. He relates a few details in regard to his family. The confession he made when threatened with torture is read to him and he is asked to add to it. He gives a few details.

His confessions are now ratified in the presence of two friars, and he takes another oath to tell the truth. He is informed that all that he has said in his confessions against other persons, including members of his family, will be used against them and that he will be held as a witness against all of them. All his testimony in this connection is read to him again and he ratifies it. He is returned to prison.

The next *audiencia* is held on November 28, 1647, more than six months later. In it, the Inquisitors' vote on the punishment recommended for Simón de León is read. He is declared to have been a practicing Jewish heretic and apostate and to have incurred sentence of excommunication with all the penalties thereto appertaining, including confiscation of goods. He is to appear in a public *auto de fe* and wear the *sambenito* for a year. He is to suffer perpetual exile from all the Indies, and, as was customarily required of Jewish heretics, he must forfeit certain privileges and do certain penance.

After a reading, in review, of all the proceedings of the trial, the definitive sentence is pronounced, with recommendation that the pris-

oner's abjuration be admitted and that he be reconciled to the Church. For penance, he is to appear with other penitents in an *auto de fe*, without ribbon or bonnet, carrying a green candle in his hands and wearing the penitential habit of yellow cloth with two red crosses of St. Andrew. There his sentence will be read and he will make his public abjuration. Thereafter he will be absolved and his sentence of excommunication will be revoked.

He is to be imprisoned for a year and wear the *sambenito* publicly over his other clothing during that time. He is to hear High Mass and sermon every Sunday and feast day, with other penitents, in the Cathedral in the city of Mexico, and on Saturdays he is to make a pilgrimage to a designated church where, on his knees and with great devotion, he is to say five times the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo, and Salve Regina. He is to confess and receive the Sacrament on the three chief festivals of each year as long as he lives. He is condemned to specific exile from all the West Indies and from Seville and Madrid. He is to embark on the first ship to leave Veracruz for Spain and there, within a month, he is to present himself to the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of Seville, make himself known, and be assigned a place to serve the remainder of his term of penitential imprisonment. In order that he may not be rearrested for the same offense, his sentence and other papers will be sent ahead to the offices of the Inquisition in Seville, in Spain, and to Lima and Cartagena, in America. He may not hold or obtain dignities, benefits, or ecclesiastical or secular offices, public or honorary. He may not carry or wear on his person gold, silver, precious stones, silk, camlet, or fine cloth, nor may he ride horseback, carry arms, or exercise or use other things proscribed in similar cases by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, under pain of being judged relapsed. This sentence was signed by the Inquisitors and dated at Mexico, March 30, 1648.

The abjuration was made in the *auto de fe*, and it was read to the prisoner for his ratification on April 2, 1648, in another *audiencia*. He is warned against relapse and, in another oath, he swears again to tell the truth. He is asked to add to his confession and to unburden his conscience of anything he heard or observed while detained in the secret prisons of the Inquisition or from persons outside, of any notes or papers he knew had been passed, or of any inefficiencies of the warden or his assistants.

Under threat of excommunication and two hundred lashes, he is

warned to keep secret everything in connection with his trial that he has seen, known, heard, or understood. He is not to pass by the building of the Inquisition, nor enter it without express permission from the Tribunal.

He adds nothing to his confession, says the prison officers have done their work well, and promises to keep secret all the information in regard to his trial. He is then entrusted to the warden of the penitential prison.

In an *audiencia* of June 5, 1648, a report of inspection of Simón's brother Jorge is given by three physicians of the Inquisition. He is found to have been circumcized in the same manner as his mother and sisters, but not according to the practice for males. Simón de León is ordered brought in.

He appears in a second *audiencia* on June 5. He is examined and found to be circumcized in the same manner as Jorge. He takes an oath to tell the truth and is then asked about his circumcision. He says he has no recollection of anything connected with it, except that his father once said that he had made the sign on all the members of the family.

In an *audiencia* of June 8, Simón de León is asked to ratify all that he said in his trial against his father. The testimony is read to him and he ratifies it.

On April 26, 1649, a petition of Simón de León is read. In it he points out that he has completed his year of imprisonment and requests release. On April 27 the petition is certified to the Inquisitor, and, in an *audiencia* of the same date, the *sambenito* is removed and the prisoner is set free.

A certificate is then prepared, dated June 20, 1650, more than a year later. It describes Simón's personal appearance, states his sentence, and affirms that he appeared with other penitents in an *auto de fe* in the city of Mexico on March 30, 1648.

The Spanish text is given below. The pagination of the MS is indicated by bold-faced Arabic numerals between slanting lines.

/1/ Mexico

año

de 1647

1647

PROCESSO Y CAUSA CRIMINAL

contra

Edad 15 años.

G [rúbrica]

edad
15 años

Simon de Leon, vezino y natural de esta ciudad de Mexico, hijo de Duarte de Leon Xaramillo y de Isauel Nuñez, su muger, reclusos por judaizantes por observante de la Ley de Moysen.

Pedimento, informacion, votos de prission.

Mandamiento y su execucion en 3 de Abrill de 1647.

Moniciones 1. 2. 3.

Accussacion. Su respuesta.

No 30 assentado [rúbrica]

S

Legajo 2º

Visto [rúbrica]

Curador y letrado,
Licenciado Don Gonzalo Carrillo.¹

Visto [rúbrica]

Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra.

Asentado [rúbrica] /2-8/ [blank] /9/

¹ This man's name has been crossed out.

1ª audiencia de Simon de Leon. En la çuadad de Mexico, jueves, quatro dias del mes de abril de mil y seisçientos y quarenta y siete años, estando en su audiència de la tarde el *señor* ynquisidor Doctor Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca, mando traer a ella a Simon, hijo de Duarte de Leon Xaramillo y de Ysabel Nuñez, su muger (reclussos por judaizantes), de las carçeles secretas, del qual, siendo presente, fue reçevido juramento en forma devida de derecho, so cargo del qual prometio de deçir verdad, assi en esta audiència, como en todas las demas que con el se tuvieren hasta la determinaçion de su caussa, y guardar secreto de todo lo que viere y entendiere y con el se tratare y passare sobre su negoçio y caussa.

Preguntado como se llama, de donde es natural, que hedad y offiçio tiene, y quanto ha que vino presso, dixo: que se llama Simon de Leon, natural de esta çuadad, de hedad de quinse años, de offiçio aprendis de sastre en la tienda de Juan de Fonseca, natural de esta çuadad, que vive en la Calle de la Azequia Real en frente de la Cruz de Postillo, y que le traxeron presso a este Santo Officio ayer, miercoles, en la noche, tres deste presente mes, y declaro su genealogia en la forma siguiente:

Padres

Duarte de Leon Xaramillo, portugues, no sabe de donde es natural, vezino² de esta çuadad, de offiçio encomendero de la tierra dentro, que esta presso en esta Ynquisicion

Ysabel³ /10/

Ysabel Nuñez, su muger, natural de esta çuadad que tambien esta en esta Ynquisicion pressa.

Abuelos paternos

Dixo que no los conocio, ni save como se llamassen

Abuelos maternos

Frañçisco Nuñez, que le pareçe era portuguez, y vivio en esta çuadad, y esta enterrado en la Yglesia Maior della. Y que le decian por la calle, que havia sido ensanbenitado en esta Ynquisicion.

Justa Mendez, su muger, que le pareçe era de España, y murio en esta dicha çuadad, pero despues que el dicho Frañçisco Nuñez Y esta enterrada en dicha Yglesia Maior, y que tambien la deçian ensanbenitada por la calle.

Tios, hermanos de padre

Comiença a confessar Y llegando a este parage, dixo que el pedia misericordia, y no saldria vn punto de la verdad, y que hablara todo

² The word *ojo* appears in the left margin, opposite the line beginning with *vezino*.

³ This is a guide word. These are used on many of the pages of the MS and have been transcribed where they are found, thus showing repetition in the first word of the following page.

lo que passo, porque le engañaron como a muchacho, y que lo que passa es: que el mesmo año que se fue a Philipinas Manuel Ramirez de Montilla, que murio en la mar, y le pareçe abra seis o siete años, le cogieron vn dia a solas en el almagén su padre y madre (y aun se acuerda que despidieron vnos arrieros que venian a buscar al dicho su padre), y le enseñaron la Ley de Moysen dixerón ambos que creiesse en la Ley de Moyssen que ellos guardaban, y que era por donde se havia de salvar, que la Ley de Christo que seguia no era buena, que la buena era la que ellos seguian, y que havia de haçer lo que ellos le mandassen, y que mirasse no lo dixesse a nadie, y que no lo supiesen los de la calle, y que mirasse lo que haçia, porque en aquello havian de estar, y que el como /11/ como muchacho, les dixo que si, y les creio todo lo que le dixerón, y se passo a la Ley de Moyssen, creiendo salbarse en ella, Asienta en la apostacia como se lo deçian sus padres. Y dexo la Ley de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo, y guardo y ha guardado a este punto la dicha Ley de Moyssen, porque no ha de andar diciendo mentiras, la qual dexa de todo su coraçon como mala, y que lo que le ha movido a dextarla es ver que andan arrastrados, como lo ha andado este confessante, sin haver quien le diesse vn pedazo de pan, llamandole de judio y hijo de judio, y que protesta vivir y morir en la Ley de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo. Y que despues que dio a sus padres el si de que seria judio, le trato bien el dicho su padre, y le daba las mejores medias y çapatos, siendo assi que antes que fuesse judio, le daba vn bestido de paño burdo, y por qualquier cossita le cogia y lo amarraba desnudo en cueros en vna escalera, y otras, lo amarraba a la Ley de Baiona,⁴ y le ponía vn palo en la boca, amarrado como mordaza, por que no le pidiesse que lo dexasse por amor de Dios y por la Virgen Santissima. Le daba tantos azotes con las arriendas de caballo, que le ponía su cuerpo mas morado que vn tafetan, y le dio vna ves con vna daga debajo de la tetilla, y hizo demostraçion

⁴ Cf José Miguel Macías, *Diccionario cubano* (Veracruz, 1885), p. 152: "a la ley de Bayona, manera de castigar a los esclavos, azotándolos después de puestos en cepo de campaña . . . atadas las manos y pasadas por las rodillas juntas, se atravesaba un palo por los dos huecos entre la muñeca y la corva para recibir los azotes sin oposición alguna."

Muestra la señal de vna herida que le hiço Duarte de Leon. de dicha señal en presençia del dicho señor ynquisidor y del presente secretario, y que le hizo con dicha daga dos descalabraduras en la cabeza, y para curarle la vna, le dio çinco puntos el çirujano Portillo.

Y que despues de esto, muchas noches en presençia de su madre, llamaba el dicho su padre a este confessante y a sus her-/12/hermanos: Clara, Françisco y Antonia, y sentandose en çima de la cama, todos juntos trataban de que era buena su ley, y que Dios les daba dineros por ella, y que la ley de los christianos no era buena, y que havian de ayunar, estandose sin comer ni beber en todo el dia hasta la noche, que havian de çenar pescado.

Duarte de Leon y su muger le hicieron ayunar dos o tres vezes. Y que vnas dos o tres veses le hiçieron ayunar los dichos sus padres, y que no pudiendo llebar la ambre, a escondidas comia pan, dandoles a entender que ayunaba.

Y que su padre y su madre, enserrandose en el almagèn junta-Flagellacion del Santo Christo echa por Duarte de Leon y su muger, con asistencia de sus hijos Clara, Françisco, Antonia y Simon. mente con este confessante, algunas veçes, en compaõia de este confessante y de su hermano Françisco, y de sus hermanas Clara y Antonia, y haviendo bajado de arriba el dicho Françisco vn Santo Christo, que estaba en su aposento donde dormia, del tamaño de media bara, lo tendian boca abajo los dichos sus padres en el mostrador, le daban^s de porrasos, diçiendole que no era la buena su ley, y que duraba como vna ora, y despues lo cogian y lo metian en vna caja grande de china, y que esto fue como vna semana, arreo a las tres de la tarde, y que nunca mas vido haçer esto ni otra cosa de la dicha ley.

Y prosiguiendo en las preguntas de su genealogia, dixo a

Tios hermanos de padre,
que no conocio mas que a Simon Montero, que esta presso en este Santo Officio, despues que vino de España.

Tios hermanos de madre

Luis Perez Roldan, natural de esta çiudad, cassado con /13/ Ysabel Nuñez, que estan pressos en esta Ynquisiçion, y que tienen tres hijos chicos, llamados Pachito,

^s Margin: ojo.

Mariquita y Grabeleta [sic]. Francisca Nuñez, cassada con Juan de Rrojas, mercader, y no tubieron hijos, y son ya difuntos

Hermanos de este

Clara Nuñez, soltera, no sabe que hedad tenga, y esta pressa en esta Ynquisicion

Françisco de Leon, que ensambenitaron pocos dias ha, y lo han buuelto a prender Antonia Nuñez, donçella, pressa en esta Ynquisicion, y no sabe que hedad tiene Jorge de Leon, no save que hedad tiene, que se lo llebo a Chametla el arriero Juan Verde

Ana Nuñez, donzella, no save que hedad tiene, y esta pressa tambien en esta Ynquisicion

Muger e hijos

Que el no ha sido cassado, ni tiene hijos

Preguntado de que casta y generacion son los dichos sus padres y abuelos, y los otros trasversales o colaterales que ha declarado, y si ellos o alguno de ellos o este confessante ha sido presso, penitenciado, reconciliado o condenado por el Santo Officio de la Ynquisicion, Dixo: que sus padres y abuelos son portugueses, judios, y sus abuelos ensambenitados, y su padre le dixo que havia sido dos veces presso por esta Ynquisicion, y que el nunca ha sido presso por la Ynquisicion, si no es agora.

Preguntado si es christiano baptisado y confirmado /14/ y si oie missa, confiessa y comulga en los tiempos que manda la Santa Madre Yglesia, y si tiene bula de la Santa Cruzada, dixo que es christiano baptisado por la gracia de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo, y que lo baptisaron en la Parrochia de Santa Catalina de esta çiudad, y fueron sus padrinos Juan de Rojas y Francisca Nuñez, sus tios, y que lo confirmo en dicha parrochia el señor Arzobispo de Santo Domingo, Don Diego de Guevara, y que fue su padrino el padre Fray Roque de la Çerna, sazerdote de la Orden de Santo Domingo. Y que siempre se a confessado y a comulgado y oido missa quando lo manda la Santa Madre Yglesia, y que la quaresma passada comulgo en la Santa Yglesia Cathedral de esta çiudad, y confesso en ella con vn clerigo llamado Cabrera, y que la bula que el compro se le perdio, porque su padre Duarte de Leon jamas, ni nunca se la compro a el ni a ninguno de para si, sus hijos, ni familia, sus hermanas [sic], ni a la gente de su compro bulla de la Santa cassa.

Signosse y santiguosse y dixo el Paternoster, Ave Maria, Credo y Salve Regina, mandamientos de la Ley de Dios y de la Yglesia, y los sacramentos de ella, bien dicho.

Preguntado si save leer y escrevir, y si ha estudiado alguna facultad,

Dixo: *que* sabe leer, no muy bien, y escrevir, y lo aprendio en esta çuadad en las escuelas de niños de Rodrigo Ximenez y Françisco Jaen, y *que* no ha estudiado facultad alguna.

Preguntado si ha salido de estos reinos, y por el discurso de su vida,

Dixo: *que* como tiene confessado, naçio en esta ciudad, y estubo en cassa de su padre hasta *que* le prendieron por /15/ por este Santo Ofiçio, *que* passados dos messes, se fue solo a pie a Queretaro, y se estubo vn mes en casa de vn yndio llamado Don Juan de Luna, alcalde del pueblo. Y de alli passo a pie a San Luis de la Paz, y estubo çinco semanas en cassa de Don Antonio de la Mota, alcalde mayor, y despues se fue a pie a vna estança llamada Las Charcas,⁶ junto a las minas de Cichu, y alli estubo pocos dias, hasta *que* se vino con vn arriero que traia lanas a esta çuadad. Y passado vn mes, se fue con Don Juan de Saabedra⁷ a Yguala, y porque le picaban mucho los mosquitos, se passo a Tasco, de donde se vino a esta çuadad la Nochebuena de Navidad passada. Y *que* por henero de este año se fue a la Puebla, y estubo con vn clerigo llamado Lucas de Pereira, hijo del maiordomo de la yglesia. Y *que* despues de haverse hecho el auto en *que* salio su hermano penitençado, se vino a esta çuadad, y se estubo con el en la carçel de penitença hasta *que* a vno y a otro los prendieron.

Preguntado si save, presume o sospecha la caussa por *que* ha sido presso y traído a las carçeles de este Santo Ofiço,

Dixo: *que* sabe *que* lo han presso por judio.

1^a moniçon.

Fuele dicho *que* en este Santo Ofiço, no se acostumbra prender persona alguna sin bastante ynformaçon de haver dicho, hecho y cometido, visto haçer, deçir y cometer a otras personas alguna cossa *que* sea o paresca ser contra⁸ *nuestra santa fee*

⁶ Margin: *ojo*.

⁷ Margin: *ojo*. It is possible that this may be Juan de Arévalo Nieto, alias Juan de Saavedra and Juan de la Peña, a bigamist condemned by the Inquisition, in the *auto* of 1646, to two hundred lashes and four years in the galleys, inasmuch as the latter part of this sentence may not have been carried out. See Genaro García, *op. cit.*, XXVIII, p. 35, and Medina, *Historia . . . de la Inquisición en México*, p. 181.

⁸ After *contra*, *alguna* is written and crossed out.

catholica⁹ y ley ebangelica que tiene, predica, sigue y enseña la Santa Madre Yglesia Catholica Romana, o contra el recto y libre exerçio del Santo Offiçio, y /16/ assi debe creer que con esta ynformacion abra sido tra[i]do por tanto, que por reverençia de Dios Nuestro Señor y de su gloriosa y bendita madre, Nuestra Señora la Virgen Maria, se le amonesta y encarga recorra su memoria y diga y confiesse enteramente verdad de lo que se sintiere culpado, o supiere de otras personas que lo sean, sin encubrir de si ni de ellas cossa alguna, ni leuantar a ssi ni a otro falso testimonio, porque haciendolo assi, descargara su conçiencia como catholico christiano, y salvara su anima, y su caussa sera despachada con toda la brevedad y misericordia que huviere lugar, donde no se proveera justicia.

Dixo que el ya ha dicho todo lo que ha visto y no save mas. Y muy amonestado que lo piense bien, fue mandado volver a su carçel, y lo firmo.

Entre renglones: r-de; enmendado: la; testado: alguna; entre renglones: l-es natural.

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Thomas Lopez de Erenchun [rúbrica]

Açepto esta confession en quanto haze en mi fauor y no en mas. Dicho dia, mes y año.

Doctor Gaudiola [rúbrica]

Audiencia en que se le dio
la 1^a [sic] moniçion.

En la çuadad de Mexico, lunes, ocho dias del mes de abril de mil y seiscientos y quarenta y siete años, estando en su audiencia de la mañana el sseñor ynquisidor Doctor Don Juan Saenz de /17/ de Mañozca, mando traer a ella a Simon de Leon, y siendo presente, le fue dicho si a acordado alguna cossa en su negoçio y caussa, lo diga, y en todo verdad, so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho.

Duarte de Leon e Isauel
Nuñez, su muger.

Dixo que se a acordado de algunas cosas que le decian su padre y su madre, y que eran muy de ordinario decirle ambos que creiesse en su Ley de Moissen. Y que este confessante les respondia que si. Y que algunas veçes veia que su padre y su madre apartaban camas, y no comian a mediodia juntos, sino de por si, y duraba esto vna semana v dos, y luego se volvia a amistar.

⁹ Margin: ojo

1^a. Fuele dicho que ya save como en la audiencia passada se le amoneste de parte de Dios Nuestro Señor y de su gloriosa y vendita madre, Nuestra Señora la Virgen Maria, recorriesse su memoria y descargasse su conciencia, diçiendo enteramente verdad de todo lo que huviesse fecho o dicho, o visto haçer o deçir a otras personas que fuesse o pareçiesse ser en ofensa de Dios Nuestro Señor, y contra su santa fee catholica y ley evangelica, que tiene y enseña la Santa Madre Yglesia Catholica Romana, o contra el recto y libre exerciçio del Santo Offiçio, sin encubrir de si ni de ellas cossa alguna, ni lebanstar a ssi ni a otro falso testimonio, que aora por segunda moniçion, se le amonesta y encarga lo mesmo, porque haçiendolo assi hara lo que debe como catholico /18/ christiano, y su caussa sera despachada con toda la brevedad y misericordia que huviere lugar, donde no haçerse ha justiçia.

Dixo que el ha dicho y confessado la verdad, y no tiene mas que deçir. Y muy amonestado que todavia lo piense bien, fue mandado volver a su carçel, y lo firmo.

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Thomas Lopez de Erenchun [rúbrica]

Auto de inspeccion. En la ciudad de Mexico, martes, a nueve dias del mes de abril, de mil y seiscientos y quarenta y siete años, estando en su audiencia de la mañana los señores inquisidores Doctores Don Francisco de Estrada y Escouedo, Don Juan [Juo.] Saenz de Mañozca y Licenciado Don Bernaue de la Higuera y Amarilla, dixerón que en conformidad de lo dispuesto por la carta acordada de los señores de el Consejo de Su Magestad de la Sancta General Inquisicion de treinta y vno de enero de seiscientos y treinta y cinco, que esta en el quaderno septimo de cartas de dichos señores /19/ señores, a foxas sesenta, los cirujanos de este Sancto Officio hagan inspeccion y caten a Simon de Leon, y vean si esta circuncidado o retajado y lo declaren debajo de juramento en este tribunal, haciendole, ante todas cossas, de vsar bien y fielmente el dicho su officio, y de guardar secreto de lo que vieren y ante ellos pasare, y lo señalaron.

[rúbrica]

[rúbrica]

[rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Phelipe de Çabalça Amezqueta [rúbrica]

Y luego, incontinenti, los dichos señores inquisidores mandaron entrar en la dicha audiencia a los dichos cirujanos de este Santo Officio, que fueron: Vrbano Martinez, Juan de Correa, Sebastian de el Castillo y Francisco de el Castillo, de los quales, siendo presentes, fue reciuido juramento en forma deuida de derecho, so cargo de el qual prometieron de hazer bien y fielmente sus officios y de guardar secreto de todo lo que vieren y entendieren y ante ellos pasare /20/

Y por los dichos señores inquisidores se les mando que conmigo, el presente notario, y Francisco Ruyz Marañon, alcayde de las carceles secretas de el, fuesen a la carcel donde esta reclusso el dicho Simon de Leon, y le viesen y catasen con todo cuydado y diligencia segun su arte y profesion, si estaua circuncidado o retajado, como lo acostumbra[n] estar los judios, y haviendo prometido de assi lo hazer y cumplir, vajaron a la carcel donde esta presso el dicho Simon de Leon, y haviendole visto y catado cada vno de por si, y subido a la audiencia donde estaban los dichos señores inquisidores,

No esta retajado ni circuncidado. Dixeron vnanimes y conformes: que no le hallaron ninguna señal, ni la tiene el dicho Simon de Leon, y que esta es la verdad para el juramento que tienen fecho, y lo que saben segun su leal sauer y entender, y lo firmaron.

Vrbano Martinez [rúbrica] Sebastian del Castillo [rúbrica]
el Maestro Jhoan de Correa [rúbrica]

Francisco del Castillo [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Phelipe de Çabalça Amezqueta [rúbrica] /21/

Audiencia. En la çiudad de Mexico, jueves, onse dias del mes de abril de mil y seiscientos y quarenta y siete años, estando en su audiència de la tarde el *senor ynquisidor Doctor Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca*, mando traer a ella de su carçel a Simon de Leon, y siendo presente, le fue dicho si a acordado alguna cossa en su negocio y caussa lo diga, y verdad en todo, so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho.

Dixo que no ha acordado cossa ninguna que deba decir.

3ª moniçion

Fuele dicho que ya save como en las audiencias passadas se le amonesto de parte de Dios *Nuestro Señor* y de su gloriossa y bendita madre, *Nuestra Señora la Virgen Maria*, recorriesse su memoria y descargasse su conçiencia, diçiendo enteramente verdad de todo lo que huviessse fecho o dicho o visto haçer o

deçir a otras personas que fuesse o pareçiesse ser en ofenssa de Dios Nuestro Señor y contra su santa fee catholica, ley evangelica, que tiene y enseña la Santa Madre Yglesia Catholica Romana, o contra el recto y libre exerçio del Santo Offiçio, sin encubrir de si ni de ellas cosa alguna, ni levantar a si ni a otro falso testimonio; que aora por terçera moniçion se le amonesta y encarga lo mesmo, porque haçiendolo assi, hara lo que debe como catholico christiano, y su caussa sera despachada con toda la brevedad y misericordia que huviere lugar, donde no haçerse ha justiçia.

Dixo que el ha dicho la verdad y que si se acordare de otras cosas, pedira al alcaide que lo traiga a la audiencia.

Curadoria. Fuele dicho que el tiene confessado y declarado ser menor de /22/ de veinte y çinco años, y para que el proçesso baya bien sustançiado, combiene que sea proveido de vn curador con cuyo consejo y assistençia siga esta caussa; por tanto que vea quien quiere que lo sea.

Dixo que nombraba y nombro por su curador al Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra, al qual el dicho señor ynquisidor mando entrar en la audiencia, y siendo presente, y haviendo dicho que queria açeptar la dicha curaduria, fue del reçevido juramento en forma, so cargo del qual prometio que bien, fiel y diligentemente defendera al dicho menor en esta caussa y donde viere su provecho, se lo alegara, y su mal y daño se lo apartara, y no lo dejara indefensso, y en todo hara lo que bueno, leal y diligente curador es obligado a haçer por su menor, y se obligo que si por su culpa, negligencia o mal razonar el dicho menor reçiuiere algun daño, lo pagara por su persona y bienes, y dio por su fiador en la dicha curaduria a Geronimo del Castillo, alcaide de la carçel de penitencia, que estaba pressente, el qual dixo que salia y salio por tal fiador del dicho Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra en la dicha razon, y se obligo que hara y cumplira lo por el jurado y prometido, y si assi no lo hiçiere y cumpliere, que el como su fiador lo pagara por el, y para ello los dichos, Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra, como tal curador, y Geronimo del Castillo, como su fiador, de mancomun y cada vno de ellos por si e ynsolidum, tenido y obligado por el /23/ todo, renunçiendo como renunçiaron las leies de la mancomunidad, segun que en ellas y en cada vna de ellas se contiene, obligaron sus personas y bienes muebles y raices, havidos y por haver, y dieron poder a los señores ynquisidores que al presente son o seran de este Santo Officio, a cuya jurisdiccion se sometieron y renunçiaron su

propio fuero y jurisdiccion, y la ley, Si convenerit; *Digesta*: De jurisdictione omnium iudicum,¹⁰ para que se lo hagan cumplir como si fuesse sentencia definitiba passada en cossa juzgada, y renunciaron las leies y otorgaron carta cumplida en forma, siendo testigos Hernando de la Fuente, nunçio y portero de [e]sta ynquisicion, y Juan de Suvilaga, alcaide de las carceles secretas, y lo firmaron.

Licenciado Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra [rúbrica]

Geronimo del Castillo [rúbrica]

Diçernimiento. Y luego el dicho señor ynquisidor dixo que dicernia y diçernio al dicho Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra la dicha curaduria del dicho menor, y para la vssar y exerçer, le daba y dio entero poder cumplido, tanto quanto por derecho devia.

Juramento del menor en E luego incontinenti fue reçevido juramento en forma de derecho del dicho Simon de Leon, menor, en presencia del dicho su curador, so cargo del qual prometio de decir verdad.

E luego en presençia del dicho Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra, curador, fueron leidas al dicho Simon de Leon, menor, las confeçiones que tiene fechas en este Santo Offiçio, desde la audienciã que con el se tubo en jueves, quatro de abril, hasta oy, onse del dicho mes de abril de quarenta y siete. Y haviendosele leido de verbo ad verbum, el dicho Simon de Leon dixo que aquella era su confiçion. Y el la dixo segun se le havia leido y /24/ y esta bien escrito. Y es assi verdad y en ella se afirmaba y afirmo, ratificaba y ratifico. Y siendo neçessario, lo deçia de nuebo en presençia y en asistenciã del dicho su curador, y lo firmaron.

Licenciado Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra [rúbrica]

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Thomas Lopez de Erenchun [rúbrica]

¹⁰ The full text of his law is cited from Africanus, *Libro septimo quaestio-num*, in Justinian's *Digesta*, *De iurisdictione* (Liber II, cap 1, par. 18): "Si convenerit, ut alius praetor, quam cuius iurisdictione esset, ius diceret et priusquam adiretur mutata voluntas fuerit, procul dubio nemo compelletur eiusmodi conventioni stare." The whole subject, *De iurisdictione omnium iudicum et de foro competenti*, is treated in the *Codex Iustinianus*. See *Corpus iuris civilis; Iustiniani Digesta recognovit Theodorus Mommsen* (3 vols., Berlin, 1908, 1906, and 1904), I, p 18 and III, p 128.

Ponesele la accusacion. Fuele dicho que el promotor fiscal de este Santo Officio le quiere poner acussacion, y le estaria muy bien assi para el descargo de su conçiencia como para el breve y buen despacho de su negoçio, que antes que se le pusiesse, el dixesse la verdad segun ha sido amonestado y agora se le amonesta, porque abra mas lugar de vssar con el de la misericordia, que en este Santo Officio se acostumbra con los buenos confitentes, donde no se le advierte que se oira al fiscal y se hara justiçia.

Dixo que el ha dicho y confessado la verdad.

E luego pareçio pressente el Doctor Don Antonio de Gaviola, promotor fiscal de este Santo Officio, y pressento vna accusacion firmada de su nombre contra el dicho Simon de Leon. Y juro en forma de derecho que no la ponía de malicia, su tenor de la qual es este que se sigue.

Aquí la accusação /25/

Acusassion de Simon de Leon.

Muy Ilustres Señores:

El Doctor Don Antonio de Gaviola, fiscal de este Santo Officio, en la mexor via y forma que aya lugar de derecho y premissos lo neçessario, acusso criminalmente a Simon de Leon Xaramillo, vezino y natural de esta çudad de Mexico, hijo de Duarte de Leon Xaramillo y Ysael Nuñez, pressos en las carçeles secretas de esta Inquisition, por la guarda y obseruançia de la dicha Ley de Moyses, y digo:

Que siendo el susodicho christiano baptizado y confirmado, gozando como tal de las graçias, preuilexios y exempçiones de que los fieles y catholicos christianos gozan y deuen gozar, contraveniendo a la profession y promessa hecha en el sancto baptizmo, ha hecho, dicho y cometido, visto hazer, dezir y cometer muchas cossas contra lo que tiene, cree, predica y enseña nuestra Sancta Madre Yglesia Catholica Romana y ley euangelica, apostatando de ella y passandosse a la falsa y muerta Ley de Moyses, la qual ha guardado y guarda con sus ritos y çeremonias, creyendo de todo su corazon que es la buena y verdadera, y en la que se ha de salbar, finxiendo y simulando ser verdadero y catholico christiano. Todo lo qual ha hecho, dicho y cometido, visto hazer, dezir y cometer en las partes, lugares y al tiempo que consta por mis informaçiones a que me refiero, de que le acusso en *general* y en *speçial* de lo siguiente:

Capitulo 1º.

Que habra seys o siete años, dos personas muy conjuntas del dicho Simon de Leon le coxieron a solas en el almalzen, y le dixerón que creyesse en la Ley de Moysen que ellos guardaban, que era la buena y verdadera /26/ y en la que todos se hauian de salbar, porque la de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo que este dicho reo entónçes seguia y guardaba, no era la buena y verdadera, sino la que ellos guardaban, y que en esta conformidad advirtiesse que hauia de hazer lo que ellos le mandaban, encargandole mucho el secreto, para que ninguno lo supiesse, ni como muchacho lo dixesse a otros, y este dicho reo, llebado del mal consejo de las dichas personas, se aparto de la verdadera ley euangelica de Nuestro Redemptor y Maestro Jesu Christo, pasandose con fee y creençia a la caduca y maldita de Moyses, creyendo salbarse en ella, en conformidad de lo que los dichos sus muy conjuntos le hauian aconsejado.

2. Y que siendo assi que Duarte de Leon su padre, antes que este reo se passasse a la creençia de su falsa Ley de Moyses, le hazia muchos maltratamientos, assi de palabra como de obra, trayendole desnudo y mal vestido, azotandole, puesto vn palo por mordaza, para que con el dolor de los azotes no invocasse los dulçissimos nombres de Jesu Christo y Maria, su Sanctissima Madre. Despues que le hizo seguir y professar la dicha ley, le trataba con particular apaçibilidad y amor, regalandole con particular cuydado, dandole de vestir y lo demas neçessario de su persona, con mucha puntualidad.

3. Y que el dicho Duarte de Leon, despues que este dicho reo hizo apostatar al dicho Simon de Leon, le llamaba y en presençia de otras muchas personas sus muy conjuntas, que todas estaban sentadas sobre la cama, le trataba de la dicha ley, sus ritos y çeremonias, y en particular les dezia que porque la guardaban, les daba Dios dineros a los obseruantes de ella, y que la Ley de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo no era la buena para nada. /27/

4. Y que en conformidad de ello, el dicho su padre le persuadio a que hauia de hazer algunos ayunos de la dicha ley a vssanssa de los judios, cathequizandole primero y industriandole en el modo de hazerlos, como de facto hizo dos otros ayunos de la dicha ley, en la forma hordinaria de los judios.

5. Y que los dichos sus padres, encerrandososse en el almalzen de su cassa con este reo y las demas personas sus muy conjuntas, como malditos y rabiossos perros judios, mostraron el implacable odio y

rencor que tienen a Jesu Christo Nuestro Redemptor, açotando a vna sacratissima imagen cruzificada de su Diuina Magestad que para este efecto, desde la sala de arriba, hauia vaxado al dicho almalzen vna de las dichas personas, y diziendole muchos baldones, injurias y oprobrios, la metieron en vna arca a guardar.

6. Y que en çierto dia viernes por la tarde, el dicho Duarte de Leon, su padre, llamo al almalzen a çierta persona muy conjunta de esta rea, y a ella y a otras tamuien sus muy conjuntas, y estando todos dentro, çerro todas las puertas con llabe, y desnudo a la dicha persona asta la çintura, diziendola la queria hazer vna seña, que por no tenerla estaba su madre pressa en esta inquisición. Y vna de las dichas personas, por mandado del dicho Duarte de Leon, tapo los ojos con vn paño a la triste paçiente, mientras le corto en vn ombro vn pedazo de carne con vn cuchillo nuebo, que para el efecto tenia en vna arca, muy vien afilado, curandola despues hechandole en la herida vnos polbos amarillos. Y el pedazo de la carne que hauia cortado se lo como luego el dicho Duarte de Leon, soasado en brazas.

7. Y que muchas veçes, espeçialmente los viernes, el dicho /28/ Duarte de Leon llamaba al almalzen a esta rea y a las demas personas sus muy conjuntas, y teniendolos junto[s] en el, les preguntaba si hazian lo que les hauia mandado, que era lo bueno para salbarsse, y despues de hauer respondido que si, el dicho Duarte de Leon, como tam grande çelador y maestro de su falsa ley, les exortaba en la perseuerança de ella, trayendoles muchas congruençias y vtilidades que se les seguiria [sic] de su bondad.

8. Y que el dicho Simon de Leon judayzaba en presençia de otras personas sus muy conjuntas, haziendo y vssando de los ritos y çeremonias de la dicha ley, por sauer todos entre si vnos de otros que eran judios professores de la dicha ley.

9. Y que el dicho Duarte de Leon, como tam gran judio çelador de su ley, violador de los mandatos de la Santa Madre Yglesia, y menospreçiador de las graçias e indultos que los señores pontiçes romanos conçeden a los fieles y catholicos christianos, jamas tomo bulla de la Santa Cruzada para este reo, ni para las demas personas sus muy conjuntas, haziendo burla y chanza de ella y diziendoles que no la hauian menester, y tenia mucha razon, pues todos ellos eran perfidos judios, y como tales podrian ser, hiziessen irriSSION y burla de las indulgençias de ella, conçedidas por los romanos pontiçes.

10. Y que el dicho su padre, Duarte de Leon, guardaba con grandissima puntualidad los sabados dias de fiesta para los judios, como tamuien lo haria este reo como tam gran dizipulo y diziplinado de tal maestro, no bendiendo ni dando ropa, ni comprando, ni cobrando dinero, todo lo qual no rehusaba el dicho su padre los domingos y fiestas, avnque fuessen los de Nuestra Señora y las Pasquas /29/

Pie Demas de lo qual es de presumir y creer que el dicho Simon de Leon ha hecho, dicho y cometido, visto hazer, dezir y cometer otros muchos delictos mas y menos graues a otras muchas personas, lo qual calla y encubre maliçiosamente, de que le protesto acussar cada y quando que a mi notiçia allegare, y en la prosecussion de esta su caussa y siendo neçessario, desde luego le acusso y de hereje judayzante, apostata de nuestra santa fee catholica, y que viue y ha viuido en guarda y obseruançia de la dicha Ley de Moysen, y quiere morir en ella, y de perjuero negatibo, fautor y encubridor de herejes judayzantes. Por tanto, açeptando sus confessiones en quanto hazen en mi fauor y no en mas, protestando de no me obligar a demasiada prueba,

A vuestra señoria pido y suplico que, hauida mi relacion por verdadera en la parte que baste, declare mi intension por vien probada y al dicho Simon de Leon por hechor y perpetrador de los delictos de que por mi es acussado, y por hereje judayzante, apostata de nuestra santa fee catholica, y hauer incurrido en sentencia de excomunion mayor, y estar ligado en ella, condenmandole en las mayores y mas graues penas statuydas contra semejantes delinquentes, por derechos, leyes y pregmaticas de estos reynos, motus proprios de Su Sanctidad, instruções y cartas acordadas de este Santo Officio, relaxando su persona a la justicia y brazo seglar, pronunçiendo y declarando sus vienes por confiscados y pertenezer a la camara y fisco de Su Magestad, para que sus delictos queden dignamente castigados y a

Doctor Don Anttonio de Gauiola [rúbrica]

Y en casso neçessario que mi intension no se aya por bien probada y neçessario sea, y no en otra manera, a vuestra señoria pido que el dicho Simon de Leon sea puesto a question de tormento, en el qual este y persevere, y en su persona se repita asta /30/ tanto que enteramente diga y declare la verdad, y si mas y mexor me conuiene pedir, lo pido, y sobre todo serme hecho entero cumplimiento de justiçia que pido. Y para ello etca. y juro en forma no ser de maliçia esta mi acussassion.

Doctor Don Anttonio de Gauiola [rúbrica]

Respuesta a la acusacion y juramento ante su curador E presentada y leida la dicha accusacion, fue recebido juramento en forma devida de derecho del dicho Simon de Leon, en presençia y con asistencia del Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra, su curador, so cargo del qual prometio de decir y responder verdad ^{a11} lo contenido en la dicha accusacion. Y siendole tornada a leer, capitulo por capitulo, respondio a ella en la forma siguiente.¹²

A la cabeza A la cabeza de la dicha acusacion, dixo: que es el contenido en esta accusaçion Simon de Leon, hijo de Duarte de Leon e Isauel Duarte de Leon Xaramillo y de Ysabel Nuñez le enseñaron la Ley Nuñez, pressos en esta Ynquisicion, y que de Moysen. como ha confessado, le hiçieron guardar la Ley de Moyssen, de que esta muy arrepentido.

Capitulo 1. Al capitulo primero, dixo: que ya ha confessado como sus padres, Duarte de Leon e Ysabel Nuñez le enseñaron la Ley de Moyssen.

Capitulo 2. Al capitulo segundo, dixo: que assi es, y lo tiene confessado.

Capitulo 3. Al capitulo terçero, dixo: que assi lo tiene confessado, y passo como lo diçe el capitulo.

Capitulo 4. Al capitulo quarto, dixo /31/ dixo: que ya tiene confessado como los dichos sus padres le hiçieron ayunar dos o tres veses, y que no pudiendo llebar los ayunos, comio pan.

Capitulo 5. Al capitulo quinto, dixo: que es verdad, y lo tiene ya dicho.

Capitulo 6. Al capitulo sexto, dixo: que esto no lo vio el, y como ha dicho lo demas, lo dixera; y que si ellos lo hiçieron solos, que el no lo vio.

Capitulo 7. Al capitulo septimo, dixo: que esto passo como lo tiene ya confessado, quando el dicho su padre y su madre los juntaba en su aposento para tratar de que era buena la Ley de Moyssen; pero que a el nunca lo llamo al almaçen para estas platicas.

Capitulo 8. Al capitulo octabo, dixo: que el veia Francisco de Leon, Clara y ayunar a sus hermanos Francisco, Clara y

¹¹ This *a* is written over *de*.

¹² On the following line is *A la cabeza*, crossed out, and *ojo* appears in the margin.

Antonia Nuñez ayunaban
casi todos los viernes

Antonia cassi todos los viernes, pero que
el no a ayunado mas ayunos de los que tiene
confessados, y como los quebranto.

Capitulo 9.

Duarte de Leon no tomaba
bulla de la Santa Cruzada,
ni para si, sus hijos, ni
familia

Al capitulo nono, dixo: que ya el tiene
confessado como su padre para si, ni para
sus hijos, ni demas gente de su cassa nunca
tomaba bula de la Santa Cruzada.

Capitulo 10.

Al capitulo deçimo, dixo: que nunca
vio a su padre no trabajar en los sabados, ni reparo en ello.

Al pie.

Al pie de la dicha acussacion, dixo:
que el no save otras cossas mas de lo que /32/ tiene confessado, que
si algo se le acordare, pedira audiencia, y lo confessara. Y que se vsse
con el de misericordia, porque fue engañado por sus padres y temia
mucho a Duarte de Leon, su padre, que era muy cruel, hasta que hacia
a sus hijos judios. Y que esta es la verdad, so cargo del juramento que
tiene fecho.

El dicho *senor ynquisidor* le mando dar copia y traslado de la
dicha accussacion, y que dentro de terçero dia responda y alegue con-
tra ella de su justicia lo que viere le combiene, con pareçer de vno de
los letrados que ayudan a las personas que tienen caussas en este
Santo Officio, que son el Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra y Licenciado
Don Gonzalo Carrillo; que nombre al que de ellos quisiere para su
defensa. Y nombro al Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra.

El dicho *señor ynquisidor* dixo que lo mandara llamar. Y muy
amonestado que todavia lo piense bien y diga la verdad, fue mandado
volver a su carçel. Y lo firmo.

Testado: a la cabeza; enmendado: a lo.

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Thomas Lopez de Erenchun [rúbrica]

Audiencia en que se comu-
nico la accussacion con el
abogado.

En la ciudad de Mexico, sabado, treçe
dias del mes de abril de mil y seiscientos y
quarenta y siete años, estando en /33/ en su
audiencia de la mañana el *señor ynquisidor Doctor Don Juan Saenz*
de Mañozca, mando traer a ella de su carçel a Simon de Leon. Y
siendo presente, le fue dicho si ha acordado alguna cossa en su negoçio
y caussa, lo diga y verdad en todo, so cargo del juramento que tiene
fecho.

Dixo que no ¹³ se a acordado de cossa alguna.

Fuele dicho que presente esta el Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra, a quien nombro por su letrado, que trate y comunique con el lo que viere que le combiene sobre este su negocio y caussa, y con su parecer y acuerdo alegue de su justicia, porque para esto le han mandado entrar en la audiencia. Y el dicho doctor juro en forma de derecho Juramento del abogado. que bien y fielmente y con todo cuidado y diligencia defendera al dicho Simon de Leon en esta caussa, en quanto huviere lugar de derecho, y si no tuviere justicia, lo desengañara, y en todo hara lo que bueno y fiel abogado debe hacer, y que tendra y guardara secreto de todo lo que huviere y supiere.

Y luego le fueron leidas las confeçiones del dicho Simon de Leon y la accusacion y lo que a ella ha respondido, y trato y comunico lo que quiso sobre este su negocio y caussa con el dicho su letrado, el qual le dixo y aconsejo que lo que le convenia para el descargo de su conciencia y breve y buen despacho de su negocio era decir y confessar la verdad, sin levantar a ssi ni a otro falso testimonio, y si era culpado, pedir penitencia, porque con esso /34/ se le daria con misericordia. Y el dicho Simon de Leon, con acuerdo y parecer del dicho su letrado, dixo que el tiene dicho y confessado la verdad, como parece por sus confeçiones a que se remite, y niega lo demas contenido en dicha accusacion, y de ella pide ser absuelto y dado por libre, y por lo que tiene confessado, ser piadosamente penitenciado, atento que le movio a dexar la Ley de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo [Xpo.] la crueldad de su padre, como lo tiene dicho. Y con esto dixo, que siendole dada publicacion de testigos, protesta alegar mas en forma lo que a Conclusion del reo. su justicia y defenssa combenga. Y concluia y conluio para el articulo que huviere lugar de derecho. El dicho señor ynquisidor dixo que mandaba dar traslado al dicho promotor fiscal de este Santo Oficio, el qual dixo que, afirmandosse en lo que tenia dicho y aceptando las confeçiones por el dicho Simon de Leon fechas, en quanto por el hagian, y no en mas, negando lo perjudicial, Conclusion del señor fiscal. concluia y conluio, y pidio ser recebido a prueba.

El dicho señor ynquisidor dixo que havia y hubo esta caussa por conclussa, y fallaba que devia de recevoir y recevio a ambas partes Sentencia de prueba. a la prueba, salvo iure impertinentium et

¹³ After no, ha is crossed out.

non admittendorum, segun estilo del Santo Officio, lo qual fue notificado a dichas partes.

Reproduccion de los testigos. E luego el dicho promotor fiscal dixo que haçia e hizo reproduccion y presentacion de los testigos y /35/ y probança que contra el dicho Simon de Leon esta reçevida, assi en el processo como en los registros y escrituras del Santo Officio Y pidio se examinassen los contestes y se ratifiquen los testigos en la forma del derecho, y se hagan las demas diligencias neçessarias para saver y alcansar la verdad. Y que hecho esto, se haga publicacion de testigos en esta caussa.

El dicho señor ynquisidor dixo que se hara justia y¹⁴ lo que huviere lugar de derecho, y muy amonestado que todavia lo piense bien y diga la verdad, fue mandado volver a su carçel. Y lo firmo con el dicho su letrado.

Enmendado: Y lo que.

Licenciado Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra [rúbrica]
Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Thomas Lopez de Erenchun [rúbrica]

Publicacion. En la çudad de Mexico, martes, a treinta de abril de mill y seisçientos y quarenta y siete años, estando en su audiencia de la mañana el señor ynquisidor Doctor Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca, mando traer a ella a Simon de Leon,¹⁵ y siendo pressente, le fue dicho que es lo que [ha] acordado en su negoçio y so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho, diga verdad. Entonces dixo que no [ha] acordado otra cosa mas de lo que tiene confesado. Fuele /36/ fuele dicho que se le haçe sauer que el promotor f[i]scal deste Santo Oficio quiere pedir publicacion de los testigos que deponen contra el, y antes que se le diese notiçia de lo que diçen, le estaria mui bien que el dixese enteramente la uerdad, y asi se le amonesta lo haga, porque abra mas lugar de vsar con el de toda breuedad y misericordia.

Dixo que el ya a dicho enteramente la uerdad y que si mas supiera, lo huuiera dicho.

Y luego pareçio pressente el Doctor Don Anttonio de Gaudiola, promotor fiscal de este Sancto Officio, y dixo que pedia y pidio publi-

¹⁴ Y is written over *en*

¹⁵ After *Leon, del que* is crossed out, and *ojo* appears in the margin.

caçion de los testigos que deponen contra el dicho Simon de Leon, segun estilo del Sancto Offiçio.

El dicho señor ynquisidor mando hazer la dicha publicaçion, callados los nombres y cognombres y las otras çircunstancias por donde podia venir en conoçimiento de las personas de los testigos, segun las instrucciones y estilo del Santo Offiçio, lo qual se hiço en la forma y manera siguiente.

Aqui la publicaçion. /37/

Publicacion de los testigos que deponen contra Simon de Leon, natural de esta ciudad, judio judaizante.

Testigo 1.

Capitulo 1

Ana Nuñez, su hermana.
13 años de edad Voluntaria.

Vn testigo jurado y ratificado en tiempo y en forma, que depuso en esta ciudad por vn dia del mes de março de quarenta y siete, dixo que sabe, vio y oyo que jamas Duarte de Leon, ni para si, ni para sus hijos e hijas compro bulla de la Santa Cruzada; y que faltandole rosario a cierta muy conjunta del dicho Simon de Leon, que nombro, y prestandosele el dicho Simon de Leon, y haviendole resado la dicha su muy conjunta catholicamente, y poniendole encima de su cama como vnas tres vezes bien tratado y con cinta nueva, y salidose a la cozina, en boluiendo, hallaba echa pedacitos la cinta, y la cruz y las quantas por el suelo, y que maliciaba que otra su muy conjunta, que nombro, era la que lo hacia, porque nunca la veia reçar con rosario, sino por los dedos, y que tenia esta malicia, porque viendo llorar a la dicha su muy conjunta por el rosario, se ponía ella a reir.

Capitulo 2.

Y que el dicho Duarte de Leon no podia ver a ciertos hermanos del dicho Simon, que nombro, y queria mucho al dicho Simon, que a otros dos de sus hermanos, que tambien nombro, y les traía regalitos, y le daba al dicho Simon las mexores medias y çapatos, y los abraçaba con mucha risa, y que en assomandose qualquiera de los que no podia veer, los reñía y echaba de alli.

Capitulo 3.

Y que de estos amores, que hacia el dicho Duarte de Leon al dicho Simon de Leon y dos dichos de sus hermanos, cree cierta persona, que nombro, que era porque debian de açotar algun Santo Christo, porque reparo cierta persona, que nombro, que de noche como a las nueue todas las noches, se enserraban en el almaçen, serrando todas las dos puertas, y oya como açotes muy

recios hasta las diez, y que la dicha cierta persona se ponía a oír los açotes por la ventana del corral que cae junto al dicho almacén, /38/ después veía salir al dicho Duarte de León y al dicho Simón y dos de dichos sus hermanos muy contentos. Y que pregu[nt]ando la dicha cierta persona al dicho Simón de León que que açotes eran aquellos tan recios y a quien?, le respondía que a vn gato, porque se comía el pescado. Y que diciéndole que si no gritaría con tantos açotes, la respondía que le tapaba el la boca Y que viendo la dicha cierta persona que todas las noches açotaban, enserrados en el almacén, malicio que no podía ser gato, y dexó de preguntárselo al dicho Simón. Y que en el dicho almacén no tenían Christo, que si lo tenían, sería escondido.

Capítulo 4

Y que el dicho Duarte de León, a lo que le parece a cierta persona, que nombro, reñía fingido con el dicho Simón de León y dos de dichos sus hermanos, y no comían al mediodía Y que a la noche mandaba el dicho Duarte de León que le matasen vn pollo, y vna de dichos dos hermanos del dicho Simón de León iba al corral y cogía vna gallina toda prieta, que ni vna plumita tenía blanca, y no la torcía el pescueço, ni degollaba, sino que viua, amarrados los pies y alas, la metía para que se ahogase en agua caliente, y después la comía con el dicho Duarte de León.

Capítulo 5.

Y que maliciaba la dicha cierta persona que aquellos açotes eran en algún Santo Christo, porque otra cierta persona, que nombro, la decía, "Ben aca, porque llaman a Duarte de León judío. Açota algún Santo Christo?" Y que con cuidado miro por vna de dos ventanas que tiene dicho almacén y caen al corral, que estaba sentada vna de dichos dos hermanos del dicho Simón de León en el suelo, bueltas las espaldas hacia las dichas ventanas, y que en las faldas tenía lo que açotaban, y que el açotador era el dicho Duarte de León con vn cuero. Y que el dicho Simón y el otro de dichos dos sus hermanos estaban sentados sobre vna caxa de pescado, y que estaba la bela puesta en el mismo suelo, en frente de la que estaba sentada. Y por el vn lado el dicho Duarte /39/ Duarte de León en jubón daba los açotes, y que como no veía que era gato, ni gritaba, conforme le decía la dicha segunda cierta persona, tiene para si la dicha primera cierta persona era algún Santo Christo.

Capítulo 6.

Y que los viernes en la noche se ponían ropa limpia en persona y cama el dicho Duarte de León, y Simón Montero, su hermano, el dicho Simón de León y dichos dos de sus hermanos. Y que el dicho Duarte de León se bañaba el cuerpo con

agua caliente, que le calentaba vna de dichos dos hermanos del dicho Simon de Leon, los viernes vnass vezes, y otras los sabados en la noche, en vna batea y en su aposento, y el dicho Montero en la tuna que estaba en vn aposento, dentro de la cosina, calentando el agua la dicha vna de dichos dos hermanos del dicho Simon de Leon, trocando los dias, si el vno el viernes, el otro el sabado. Y que assi mesmo se bañaban los dichos Simon de Leon y dos de sus hermanos. Y que en cassa del dicho Duarte de Leon se comian quartos traçeros de carnero, y la dicha vna de dichos dos hermanos del dicho Simon Montero ponía la olla, no queriendo que otra la pusiesse, y le quitaba la gordura a la carne, y la tarde antes la cortaba, y la echaba a desangrar en vna batea de agua, diciendo que lo hacia porque no hadiesse. Y que el dicho Duarte de Leon imbiaba a comprar a la plaça al otro de dichos dos hermanos del dicho Simon de Leon gallinas de la tierra y de Castilla, y le mandaba las traxesse, o todas pardas o todas negras, y en trayendolas con pintas blancas, se las hacia boluer, diciendo estauan flacas. Y que el dicho Montero regalaba mucho al dicho Simon de Leon y dichos dos de sus hermanos, y que tiene por cierto que era porque creian en aquella secta. Y que esta es la verdad, y no lo dice por odio.

Testigo 2.

Capítulo 1

Antonia Nuñez, su hemana
15 años de edad. Espon-
tanea

Otro testigo jurado y ratificado en tiempo y en forma, que depuso en esta ciudad por vn dia del mes de março de quarenta y siete, dixo que sabe, vio y oyo que vn año despues que enseñó la Ley de Moysen Duarte de Leon a cierta su muy conjunta, que nombro, /40/ la cogio en el almacen serrando todas las puertas, y hallandose presentes el dicho Simon de Leon y otro su muy conjunto, que tambie[n] nombro, y la desnudo hasta la cintura, y la dixo que [la] queria hacer vna señal en el hombro izquierdo, en señ[a]l de que era judia, y vendandola los ojos con vna toalla de ruan, y atandola las manos por las muñecas con vn pañuelo de narizes, sintio el que la corto del dicho hombro izquierdo con vn cuchillo vn pedaço de carne, y que haviendola desvendado los ojos y desatado las manos, vio que la hauian cortado en aquella parte tanta carne como medio real, saliendola mucha sangre y sintiendo grande dolor Y que el dicho Duarte de Leon le echo ciertos poluos, y que haviendola puesto vn paño, la torno a vestir, y cogio aquel pedaço de carne y lo asso en vnass asquas que estaban en vn braçerito, y se la comio con el dicho muy conjunto del dicho Simon de Leon. Y que la dixo el dicho Duarte de

Leon que si la preguntassen que que señal era aquella?, dicesse que de vna caída, y que estubo mala en la cama vna semana, y la causo la herida calentura.

Capítulo 2

Ana

Y que sabe de cierto que tiene dicha señal otra muy conjunta del dicho Simon de Leon, que nombro, porque en vn dia, no se acuerda si vienes por la tarde, el dicho Duarte de Leon llamo al dicho almagén a la dicha primera muy conjunta del dicho Simon de Leon, que ya estaba señalada, y al dicho Simon de Leon y dicho su muy conjunto, y estando dentro, serro todas las puertas con llaue, y desnudo a la dicha muy conjunta del dicho Simon de Leon hasta la cintura, diciendola que la queria hacer vna señal que por no tenerla su madre, la hauian pressos en la Inquisicion. Y que la dicha muy conjunta del dicho Simon de Leon ya señalada, por mandarselo el dicho Duarte de Leon, la tapo los ojos con vn paño, mientras le corto en vn hombro vn pedaço de carne, sacando para ello de vna caxa vn carnicero nueuo, y que lloro mucho la paciente, y echo poluos el dicho Duarte de Leon en la dicha herida /41/ herida, y aso el pedaço de carne que seria de tamaño de medio real, y lo comio el dicho Duarte de Leon

Capítulo 3

Francisco y Ana

Y que el dicho Duarte de Leon, porque fuessen judios, y hasta que lo fueron y aprendieron la Ley de Moysen, cogia a sus hijos, el dicho Simon y otros dos, que nombro, y los amarraba a vna escalera, y con vn cuero ancho vnas vezes, y otras con vnas arriendas, les daba tantos açotes que les hacia correr la sangre, y que despues que fueron judios como el, no los açotaba assi, y consentia que el vno de los dos dichos le hurtasse para sus vellaquerias

Capítulo 4.

Y que vio que el dicho Duarte de Leon, vn año despues de hauer enseñado la Ley de Moysen a cierta su muy conjunta del dicho Simon de Leon, que nombro, llamo, le parece que vn vienes, al dicho Simon al almagén, y a puerta huierta, estando solos, le hablaba. Y que hauiendo salido el dicho Simon de Leon y subido arriba, maliciando que le hauia llamado para enseñarle la dicha ley, como a la dicha su muy conjunta, le pregunto que que la hauia dicho el dicho Duarte de Leon?, y el la respondio que nada. Y que como vio al dicho Simon de Leon despues ayunar con el dicho Duarte de Leon, se confirmo en que le hauia enseñado la Ley de Moysen, como a la dicha su muy conjunta. Y que echo de veer que el dicho Simon de Leon ayunaba, porque, queriendole dar la dicha su muy conjunta

vn dia (despues de dicha platica con el dicho Duarte de Leon) chocolate, no lo quiso beber como lo hacia todos los dias, y seria como a las ocho, y que dentro de dos horas, y ya a las diez del dia, subio el dicho Simon de Leon a la cocina y la pidio chocolate, diciendo que tenia hambre y que no lo supiesse el dicho Duarte de Leon, y que la dicha su muy conjunta le dio al dicho Simon de Leon pan y chocolate. Y que en este proprio dia vio que el dicho Duarte de Leon, como a las onze de la mañana, salio de casa en su caballo castaño, diciendo iba a comprar poluora a Los Molinos, y boluio a las tres de la tarde, y no comio en casa, segun lo solia haçer *quando* ayunaba con cierta su muy conjunta, que nombro, o solo. Y que el dicho Simon de Leon se quito /42/ de ruidos¹⁶ y comio a medio dia, y despues se huyo desta ciudad al paraje que llaman el Rincon de Don Diego, y que [*estu*]bo huido mas de dos meses, y que despues con rogador que t[ra]xo de palacio, se vino a cassa.

Capitulo 5.
Clara.

Y que cierta muy conjunta del dicho Simon de Leon, que nombro, guarda tambien la Ley de Moysen, porque varias vezes vio que la llamo el dicho Duarte de Leon a su aposento, deteniendose con ella algun rato, y que como vso de esta diligencia el dicho Duarte de Leon para con el dicho Simon de Leon y otra su muy conjunta, que tambien nombro, tambien cree que fueron estas llamadas para hacerla judia. Y que si la primera cierta muy conjunta del dicho Simon de Leon no supiera que el dicho Duarte de Leon y dicho Simon Montero eran judios, *quando* se enojaba, no los llamara perros judios, ni ellos callaran si no supieran que la dicha primera cierta muy conjunta del dicho Simon de Leon tambien lo era.

Capitulo 6.

Y que vna noche, como a las nueue, el dicho Duarte de Leon llamo al almagén a cierta su muy conjunta, que nombro, la qual hallo que estaban con el dicho Simon de Leon y otro su muy conjunto, y assimesmo cierta persona, que nombro, y vio que el proprio Duarte de Leon serro ambas las puertas del dicho almagén, y que metiendo la bela al trasalmacen el dicho Simon, y poniendola sobre vna caxa o sobre vna messa, se assentaron en vnas caxas de estas blancas de la plaça que alli estaban, la dicha cierta persona, el dicho Simon de Leon, y dichos [*sic*] su muy conjunto, y dicha su muy conjunta, y que el dicho Duarte de Leon saco de vna caxa blanca

¹⁶ There is a blot of ink on the manuscript at this spot, apparently put there before this page 42 was written. This word *ruidos* is written: *rui* blot *dos*.

vn Santo Christo pequeño de mas de media vara de largo, puesto en su cruz, y lo puso sobre vna messa, que estaba alli en medio, boluiendole boca abajo, y cogiendo vna disciplina de ramales, de estas con que açotan a los muchachos, lo açoto al dicho Santo Christo recio, diciendole que era vn embustero, y que no hauia venido al mundo, y que por el padecia trabajos, y le hauian traido pressa a su muger, y que /43/ y que por hauer llamado a la puerta de la calle vnos harrieros de Guadalajara, cesso en los açotes, y echo arriba al dicho Simon de Leon y a los dichos sus muy conjunto y muy conjunta, y se quedo con la dicha cierta persona, y que no saue donde puso el dicho Duarte de Leon al dicho Santo Christo, o si lo boluio a poner en dicha caxa.

Capítulo 7.

Y que se acuerda que otras dos vezes, vna en vn jueves y otra en vn viernes, despues de cerradas las puertas de la cassa, ya de noche, llamo al dicho almacén el dicho Duarte de Leon al dicho Simon de Leon y a los dichos sus muy conjunto y muy conjunta, y serradas las puertas en la mesma parte que la primera vez, estando la dicha su muy conjunta sentada en el suelo, y puesta la bela en frente de ella en el mesmo suelo, y el dicho Simon de Leon y dicho su muy conjunto sentados sobre vna caxa blanca, saco el dicho Duarte de Leon el dicho Santo Christo de la mesma caxa de donde la otra vez, y se le mando poner en las faldas, boca abajo, y teniendolo assi, lo açoto con dicha disciplina, dandole açotes, ya en el cuerpo, ya en la cruz, diciendole: por vos me vienen tantos trabajos; por vos mi muger esta padeciendo tantos trabajos; soys vn embustero. Y que en vna vez de estos açotes, se desmayo la dicha su muy conjunta, y la hizo el dicho Duarte de Leon subir arriba, y dexo de proseguir en los açotes al Santo Christo, y que solo el dicho Duarte de Leon era el que le açotaba y despues metia en dicha caxa.

Capítulo 8.

El mesmo testigo jurado y ratificado en tiempo y en forma en otro dicho que dixo por vn dia del dicho mes de março de quarenta y siete, dixo que sabe, vio y oyo que algunas vezes en dias de viernes, y otras en otros dias de la semana, llamaba el dicho Duarte de Leon al dicho Simon de Leon y a tres sus muy conjuntas personas, que nombro, y teniendolos juntos en dicho almacen, les preguntaba si hacian lo que les hauia mandado, porque era lo bueno para saluarse?, y que ellos le respondian que si, y /44/ el dicho Duarte de Leon les decia que hacian bien. Y que¹⁷ el dicho Duarte de Leon

¹⁷ Cap. 9 is written in the margin and crossed out.

jamás tomo bula de la Santa [Cr]uzada para sí, ni para sus hijos, ni gente de su casa. Y qu[e] esta es la verdad, y no lo dice por odio.

[*rúbrica*]

Y fecha la dicha publicación, fue rrezeuido juramento en forma deuida de derecho del dicho Simon de Leon, en presencia y con asistencia del Doctor Don Miguel de Ibarra, su curador, so cargo del qual prometio decir verdad y responderla a lo que estos testigos, que se le dan en publicación, deponen contra el, y siendole leida dicha publicación, respondió a ella en la forma siguiente:

Numero 1º

Capitulo 1º.

Duarte de Leon no tomaba bula de la Santa Cruzada por sí, sus hijos, ni familia

confesante, ni para sus hermanos ni hermanas, ni para sus esclauos ni esclauas. Y que no se acuerda hauer prestado el rosario mas que vna vez a su padre, que se lo pidio y boluio en el almalzen, y que no saue para que fin.

Capitulo 2

Castigos que le hacia Duarte de Leon, antes que fuesse judio

gorda. Y que despues de

Despues de judio, le regalaba.

Lo mesmo hacia con Francisco de Leon y Antonia Nuñez

Duarte de Leon no podia ver a Clara, Jorge y Ana, sus hijos.

el almalzen, subio el dicho Duarte de Leon arriua, y la dio con la[s] riendas del caualllo por la cara, de que le quedaron señales.

Capitulo 3.

Al capitulo tercero, dixo que no se acuerda que tal cosa aya passado, que lo que supo en este particular, lo confeso.

Capitulo 4.

Duarte de Leon fingia riñas quando ayunaba con su Francisco y Antonia, sus

Al testigo primero, capitulo primero,

dixo que el ya tiene confesado que Duarte

de Leon, su padre, jamás tomaba bula de

la Santa Cruzada, ni para sí, ni para este

confesante, ni para sus hermanos ni hermanas, ni para sus esclauos

ni esclauas. Y que no se acuerda hauer prestado el rosario mas que vna

vez a su padre, que se lo pidio y boluio en el almalzen, y que no saue

para que fin.

Al capitulo segundo, dixo que el ya

tiene confesado como el dicho su padre,

antes que lo hiçiese judio, lo açotaua y mal-

trataua, y le daua por camisa vna manta

/45/ hauerlo traído a aquella mala ley, lo

queria y regalaua, dandole camisas de ruan

y las mejores medias y çapatos. Y que la

mesma buena voluntad y amor les mostraua

a sus hermanos Francisco de Leon y Ant-

tonia Nuñez, porque eran tanuién judios, y

que no podia ver a Clara, Jorje y Anica.

Y vna uez, porque vio asomar al corredor a

su hermana Clara a ver lo que se haçia en

el almalzen, subio el dicho Duarte de Leon arriua, y la dio con la[s]

riendas del caualllo por la cara, de que le quedaron señales.

Al capitulo tercero, dixo que no se

acuerda que tal cosa aya passado, que lo que supo en este particular,

lo confeso.

Al capitulo quarto, dixo que nunca con

el riño el dicho su padre, que con quien

reñia quando se les antoxaua ayunar era

hijos. con Pancho y Antonia. Y no comian al mediodia Y el dicho su padre, o se estaua en el almaçen, o se iba a casa de Juan [Juo.] de Mendoça, ropero en la callexuela de los roperos, o en casa de Anttonio Rodriguez, portuguez sastre que viue en la calle de la Acequia. Y que en anocheciendo, les subia a los dichos Pancho y Antonia el dicho su padre fruta mui alegre y senaua con ellos en su aposento ensaladas de lechugas. Y que no vio si comian gallina o no.

Capítulo 5.

Al capitulo quinto, dixo que no vio estos açotes, ni vio esto.

Capítulo 6.

Duarte de Leon y Simon Montero se ponian ropa limpia en persona y cama los viernes en la noche, y Francisco de Leon y Antonia Nuñez

seuuir ambas a el y a hermano Jorje. Y aun se quedaua en cueros, quando le cauia la uez que le lauarian la suya. Y que asi mesmo es

Duarte de Leon se bañaba viernes o sabados

Le calentaba el agua su hija Antonia Nuñez

al dicho Simon Montero, ni se baño este confesante en su casa, que adonde se iba a bañar era a la aluerca de Chapultepeque los domingos con los otros muchachos catholicos Y que no bio que se bañasen sus

Duarte de Leon hacia comprar quartos traseros de carnero para comer.

Antonia Nuñez ponía la olla.

desangrase la carne. Y que vio que el dicho su padre enuiaba a comprar gallinas a la plaça a su hermano Pancho, diciendole que las traxese buenas y gordas, pero que nunca oyo que dixese que fuesen negras o pardas, y que no tubiesen pintas negras o blancas. Y que es verdad que el Simon Montero regalaba por

Al capitulo sextto, dixo /46/ dixo que es verdad que su padre y Simon Mo[n]tero, Pancho y Antonia se ponian ropa limpia, camisas y sauanas en la cama los viernes en la noche y que este confesante no se la ponía, por no tener mas que dos camisas y

verdad que el dicho su padre se lauaba el cuerpo vnas vezes los viernes en la noche y otras uezes los sauados en vna batea de madera grande que compro en la plaça vn viernes. Y la tenia en su aposento a los pies de la cama.

Y que calentaua el agua Antonia su hermana con pies de rosa. Y que no vio bañar

hermanos Pancho y Antonia, y que es verdad que el dicho su padre mandaua al negrito Luis que fuese al rastro y traxese

para comer en casa quartos traceros de carnero. Y que saue que la dicha Anttonia ponía la olla, sin querer que

otra persona la pusiese. Y que no vio que

praxer gallinas a la plaça a su hermano Pancho, diciendole que las traxese buenas y

dicho Simon Montero queria mucho a este

ser judios a este reo y a confesante y le regalaua, traiendole frutta Francisco y a Antonia. y de comer de la plaça. Y que quisa el dicho su padre /47/ padre le abria dicho que este confesante ya era judio, y que el dicho Simon Montero andaua con los dichos Pancho y Antonia en platicas. Y alguna vez sin salir en todo el dia de casa, y fue parte para que le quitase el dicho su padre la toba al dicho Pancho, reçien venido dEspaña, porque auia ido a pedir dineros en su nombre a Simon de Haro y hechados por ay y jugandolos. Y que no saue que tratasen en dichas platicas. Y que cree que ya el dicho su padre le abria dicho al dicho Montero como los dichos Pancho y Antonia eran judios, o ellos se lo abrian dicho a Montero, porque este confesante solo cuidaua de ir a jugar a la calle con otros muchachos, o a pasearse.

Testigo 2
Capitulo 1

Al testigo segundo, capitulo primero, dixo que no bio esto.

Capitulo 2.

Al capitulo segundo, dixo que tanpoco vio esto y que si ellos lo hiçieron a escondidas, el no lo vio.

Capitulo 3

Duarte les castigaba antes de ser judios y despues no.

Al capitulo terçero, dixo que el ya tiene confesado como el dicho su padre a el y a su hermano Pancho los castigaua cruelmente hasta que fueron judios, lo qual no haçia despues. Y que consentia que el dicho Pancho le hurtase dineros disçimulando, porque ya era judio.

Capitulo 4

Al capitulo quarto, dixo que el ya tiene confesado el modo con que le enseñaron la Ley de Moises sus padres, Duarte de Leon e Isauel Nuñez, y los ayunos que hiço por su mandado. Y que /48/ Y que es verdad que se huio por hauer quebrantado vn ayuno que le mando hazer su padre, no pudiendo çufrir la hambre. Y que a quien pidio chocolate fue a su hermana Antonia. Y no se acuerda qual de sus dos hermanos le pregunto lo que dize el testigo.

Capitulo 5.

Al capitulo quinto, dixo que el nunca vio a Clara su hermana en estas cosas de judios, pero si la uio que

Clara Nuñez llamaba perros judios a su padre y tio, Simon Montero.

enojada llamaua de perros judios en su cara al dicho su padre y a Simon Montero, que justiçia de Dios les cayera. Y hechaua al dicho Duarte de Leon muchas maldiciones en lengua de negro (que saue muy bien) la dicha Clara, y que via que ellos callauan. Y no saue ni presume la causa que les mouia a callar.

Capítulo 6.

Al capítulo sexto, dixo que no vio esto, y que lo que vio lo tiene ya confesado.

Capítulo 7.

Al capítulo septimo, dixo que no vio tal.

Capítulo 8.

Duarte en el almagén examinaba a este reo y sus hermanos Francisco y Antonia sobre la guarda del judaismo. Al capítulo octauo, dixo que es verdad que el dicho su padre llamaua al almagén a este confesante y a sus hermanos Pancho y Antonia, y les decía que creyesen su ley, del que es la de Moises, y que si creian en ella, y le¹⁸ respondian que si. Y que ya tiene dicho que no les compra bullas de la Cruzada, ni el la tomara para si. Y que esta es la verdad,¹⁹ so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho.

El dicho señor /49/ El dicho señor ynquisidor le mando dar copia y traslado de la dicha publicacion, y que a terçero dia responda y alegue contra ella, con pareçer de su letrado, lo que le conuenga. Y mui amonestado que lo piense bien y diga la uerdad, fue mandado boluer a su carçel. Y lo firmo.

• Va testado: y no, del que; no vale.

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Antte mi:

Diego Ortiz de Bargas [rúbrica]

Açepito esta confession en quanto haze en mi fauor y no en mas; dicho dia, mes y año.

Doctor Gaudiola [rúbrica]

En la ciudad de Mexico, jueves, a dos dias de el mes de mayo de mil y seiscientos y quarenta y siete años, estando en su audiencia de la mañana el señor inquisidor Doctor Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca, mando traer a ella de las carceles secretas a Simon de Leon, y siendo presente, le fue dicho que si a acordado algo que deba decir, lo diga y la verdad, so cargo de el /50/ juramento que fecho tiene.

Dixo que no se a acordado de cossa alguna.

Fuele dicho que presente esta el Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra, su letrado, que trate y comunice con el la publicacion de testigos que se le a dado, y todo lo demas que combenga a su justicia y defenssa.

¹⁸ This *le* was written *les* and the *s* has been crossed out.

¹⁹ After *verdad*, y *no* is written and crossed out, and *ojo* appears in the margin.

E luego se leyo al dicho Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra la publicacion de los testigos que deponen contra el dicho Simon de Leon y lo que a ella a respondido, con todo lo demas que fue necessario, y el dicho Simon de Leon trato y comunico con el dicho su letrado lo que quisso sobre este su negocio y caussa, y con su acuerdo y parecer, dixo y alego:

Que el ya hauia dicho y confessado la verdad de su voluntad, sin apremio alguno y sin encubrir cosa alguna, assi de lo que hizo como de lo que vio hazer a sus padres y hermanos, y que si otra cosa supiera o huiera visto hazer o echo, la confesara, para alcançar cumplida misericordia, como lo acostumbra vsar este santo y piadosso tribunal con los buenos confitentes. Y que los testigos que deponen contra el hauerse hallado en la flagelacion de el Santo Christo y en la circuncision, o señal judaica que hizo su padre Duarte de Leon, a lo que parece por la deposicion de ellos, en dos de sus hermanas, no lo /51/ no lo supo ni entendio. Y se combenze la falsedad euidentemente, porque deponen de hecho que, por lo menos, a mas de quatro años que passo, y no es de creer y presumir que, teniendo solos onze entonces este confesante, fiasen de su corta capacidad, y menos secreto acciones de suyo de tanta grauedad, y que las fuesse a hablar, menos adbertido, a otros muchachos, y de alli dibulgarssse con tanto peligro de la seueridad de el castigo que el propio hecho pedia, demas de hauer sido ya otra vez penitenciado en este Santo Officio el dicho su padre, que escarmentado se cautelaria de sus propios hijos, que aunque los enseño, fue vsando de ardidess y traças, como consta de las que vsso con este confesante.

Y que por lo que tiene confesado, pide y suplica humilmente se le de penitencia con misericordia, reproduciendo lo que tiene alegado de su corta capacidad y poca hedad, y a que fue compelido a dejar la Ley de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo por los crueles castigos que en el hacia el dicho su padre, reproduciendo aqui lo que en este particular tiene dicho en sus confesiones, y que el no hauerse venido a presentar de su voluntad a este santo tribunal /52/ y a confessar sus culpas, fue por el temor que, como muchacho, concibio de mayores castigos, de que pide perdon, y que promete cumplir con toda humildad las que le fueren impuestas, y de nunca mas se apartar de la Ley de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo que confiessa, cree y tiene de todo su coraçon por la buena y verdadera, y en la que se a de salbar, y pide y suplica humilmente el ser absuelto de las censuras en que a incurrido y reduci-

do e, incorporado en el gremio de nuestra Santa Madre Iglesia Catholica Romana, y admitido a la participacion de los fieles y catholicos christianos en los santos sacramentos, y que con esto y fiando en la misericordia de este santo tribunal, concluye definitivamente. Y lo firmaron.

Licenciado Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra [rúbrica]

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Phelipe de Çabalça Amezqueta [rúbrica]

El dicho señor inquisidor mando se notifique al fiscal de este Santo Officio que para la primera audiencia concluya.

E luego incontinenti fue reciuido juramento en /53/ en forma de derecho de el dicho Simon de Leon, menor, en presencia de el dicho Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra, su curador, so cargo de el qual prometio de decir verdad.

E luego en presencia de el dicho Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra, curador, fueron leydas al dicho Simon de Leon, menor, las confesiones que tiene fechas en este Santo Officio, desde la audiencia que con el se tubo en jueves, onze dias de el mes de abril, hasta oy, dos de mayo de este presente año de quarenta y siete, y hauiendosele leydo de verbo ad verbum, el dicho Simon de Leon dixo que aquellas eran sus confesiones y el las dixo, segun se le hauian leydo, y estauan bien escritas y eran assi verdad, y en ellas se afirmaba y afirmo, ratificaba y ratifico, y si era necessario, lo decia de nuevo, en presencia y con asistencia de el dicho su curador. Y muy amonestado que todavia lo piense bien y diga la verdad, fue mandado de su carcel. Y lo firmaron.

Licenciado Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra [rúbrica]

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Phelipe de Çabalça Amezqueta [rúbrica] /54/

E luego fue notificado lo proueydo por el dicho señor inquisidor al señor Doctor Don Antonio de Gauiola, f[i]scal de este Santo Officio en su persona, por mi, el presente notario y ayudante de el secreto, y dixo que lo oya, de que doy fee.

Licenciado Phelipe de Çabalça Amezqueta [rúbrica]

Votos de tortura

En la çuadad de Mexico, dos dias del mes de mayo de mill seisçienttos y quarentta y siete años, estando juntos en la sala de la audiencia del Santo Officio los señores inquisidores Doctores Don Francisco de Estrada y Escouedo, Don Juan [Juo.] Saenz de Mañozca y Licenciado Don Bernaue de la Higuera y Amarilla y por ordinario de este arzob[is]pado, el dicho señor inquisidor Mañozca, que tiene las bezes de ordinario del de que yo, el secretario ynfrasçritto del secreto, doy ffee. En consulta y bista de proçessos, hauiendo visto este proçesso criminal tocantte a Simon de Leon, natural y bezino de esta çuadad, preso en estas carseles, los dichos señores inquisidores Estrada y Mañozca fueron de boto y paresser fuesse puesto a quuestion de tormentto yn caput alienum; el dicho señor inquisidor Higuera, que fuesse conminado como si realmente se le vbiese de dar la torttura. Y lo rubricaron.

[3 rúbricas]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Evgenio de Sarauia [rúbrica] /55/

En la çuadad de Mexico, sauado, quattro dias del mes de mayo de mill seisçienttos y quarentta y siete años, estando en audiencia de la mañana los señores inquisidores Doctores Don Francisco de Estrada y Escouedo, Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca y Licenciado Don Bernaue de la Higuera y Amarilla y por ordinario, el dicho señor inquisidor Doctor Don Juan Sae[n]z de Manozca [sic], mandaron traer a ella de las carseles secrettas a Simon de Leon, preso en ellas, y siendo presentte, le fue dicho si a acordado alguna cosa en su negosio, lo diga, y en ttodo la berdad, so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho.

Dixo que no se le a acordado mas.

E luego fue mandado entrar en la dicha audiencia el Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra, su curador, y en su presensia se le hizo la monision siguiente.

Aqui la monision. /56/ [blank] /57/

Monicion antes del
tormento

Fuele dicho que ya sabe como muchas y diuersas vezes ha sido amonestado dixelse enteramente verdad de todo lo que huuiessse fecho o dicho, o visto hacer o decir a otras personas en ofensa de Dios Nuestro Señor, y contra su santa fee catholica, ley euangelica, que tiene, sigue y enseña la Santa Madre Iglesia Catholica Romana, especialmente cerca de

aquello que esta testificado y acusado por este su processo, lo qual no ha querido hacer, y por el dicho processo parece que calla y encubre muchas cosas, especialmente que reparando cierta persona que todas las noches, como a las nueue, se enserraban en el almacen Duarte de Leon, este reo y dos hermanos suyos, serrando todas las dos puertas y oyendo por la ventana del corral, *que cae junto al dicho almacen*, açotes muy recios hasta las diez, y viendo que despues salian el dicho Duarte de Leon, dicho Simon de Leon y dichos sus dos hermanos muy contentos, pregunto la dicha cierta persona al dicho Simon de Leon, que que açotes eran aquellos tan recios y a quien? Y le respondia que a vn gato, porque se comia el pescado. Y que diciendole, que si no gritaria con tantos açotes?, la respondia *que le tapaba el la boca*. Y que viendo la dicha cierta persona que todas las noches açotaban enserrados en dicho almacen, malicio que no podia ser gato, y deo de preguntarselo al dicho Simon de Leon. Y malicio que aquellos açotes eran en algun Santo Christo. Y con cuidado miro por vna de dos ventanas que tiene dicho almacen, y caen al corral, que estaba sentada vna de dichos dos hermanos del dicho Simon de Leon en el suelo, vueltas las espaldas hacia las dichas ventanas, y *que en las faldas tenia lo que açotaban*, y que el açotador era el dicho Duarte de Leon con vn cuero. Y que el dicho Cimon de Leon y el otro de dichos dos sus hermanos estaban sentados sobre vna caxa de pescado, y que estaba la bela puesta en el mesmo suelo, enfrente de la que estaba sentada. Y que por el vn lado, el dicho Duarte de Leon, en jubon, daba los açotes, y que como no veia que era gato, ni gritaba, tenia para si era algun Santo Christo. Y que vna noche como a las nueue, el dicho Duarte de Leon llamo a su almacen a cierta su muy conjunta, la qual hallo que estaban con el dicho /58/ Simon de Leon y otro su muy conjunto, y assimesmo otra cierta persona de fuera de casa, y vio que el proprio Duarte de Leon serro ambas las puertas del dicho almacen, y que metiendo la bela al trasalmacen el dicho Simon de Leon, y poniendola sobre vna caxa sobre vna mesa, se asentaron sobre vnas caxas de estas blancas de la plaça, que alli estaban la dicha cierta persona de fuera de casa, el dicho Simon de Leon y dichos su muy conjunto y su muy conjunta, y que el dicho Duarte de Leon saco de vna caxa blanca vn Santo Christo pequeño de mas de media bara de largo, puesto en su cruz, y lo puso sobre vna messa, que estaba alli en medio, boluiendole boca abaxo, y cogiendo vna disciplina de estas con que açotan a los muchachos, con ramales, lo açoto al dicho Santo Christo recio, diciendole

que era vn embustero, y que no hauia venido al mundo, y que por el padecia trabajos y le hauian traido pressa a su muger, y que por hauer llamado a la puerta vnos harrieros de Guadalupe, çesso en los açotes, y echo arriba al dicho Simon de Leon y a los dichos su muy conjunto y su muy conjunta, y se quedo con la dicha cierta persona de fuera de casa. Y que otras dos vezes, vna en vn jueues y otra en vn viernes, despues de serradas las puertas de la casa, ya de noche, llamo al dicho almacén el dicho Duarte de Leon al dicho Simon de Leon y a los dichos sus muy conjunto y muy conjunta, y serradas las puertas en la mesma parte que la primera vez, estando la dicha su muy conjunta sentada en el suelo y el dicho Simon de Leon y dicho su muy conjunto sentados sobre vna caxa blanca, saco el dicho Duarte de Leon el dicho Santo Christo de la mesma caxa de donde la otra vez, y se le mando poner en las faldas, boca abajo, y teniendolo assi, lo açoto con la dicha disciplina, dandole açotes, ya en el cuerpo, ya en la cruz, diciendole: por vos me vienen tantos trabajos; sois vn embustero. Y que vna vez de estos açotes, se desmayo la dicha su muy conjunta, y la hiço el dicho Duarte de Leon subir arriba, y dexo de proseguir en los açotes al Santo Christo /59/ Christo, y que solo el dicho Duarte de Leon era el que le açotaba, y despues metia en dicho [sic] caxa. Y que vn año despues que enseñó la Ley de Moysen el dicho Duarte de Leon a cierta su muy conjunta, la cogio en el almacen, serrando todas las puertas, y hallandose presentes el dicho Simon de Leon y otro su muy conjunto, y la desnudo hasta la cintura, y la dixo que la queria hacer vna señal en el hombro izquierdo, en señal de que era judia, y vendandola los ojos con vna toalla de ruan, y atandola las manos por las muñecas con vn pañuelo de narizes, sintio el que la corto del dicho hombro izquierdo con vn cuchillo vn pedaço de carne, y que haviendola desuendado los ojos y desatado las manos, vio que la hauian cortado en aquella parte tanta carne como medio real, saliendo mucha sangre y sintiendo grande dolor. Y que el dicho Duarte de Leon le echo ciertos poluos, y que haviendola puesto vn paño, la torno a vestir, y cogio aquel pedaço de carne y lo asso en vnas ascuas, que estaban en vn braserito, y se la comio con el dicho muy conjunto del dicho Simon de Leon. Y que la dixo el dicho Duarte de Leon que si la preguntasen que que señal era aquella?, dicesse que de vna caida, y que estubo mala en la cama vna semana, y la causo la herida calentura. Y que en vn dia, a lo que parece viernes por la tarde, el dicho Duarte de Leon llamo al dicho almacén a la dicha su muy conjunta, que ya estaba

señalada, y al dicho Simon de Leon y dicho su muy conjunto, y estando dentro, serro todas las puertas con llaue, y desnudo hasta la cintura a otra su muy conjunta, diciendola que la queria hacer vna señal, que por no tenerla su madre, Isauel Nuñez, la hauian presso en la Inquisicion. Y que la dicha muy conjunta del dicho Duarte de Leon, la ya señalada, por mandado del dicho Duarte de Leon, la tapo los ojos con vn paño, mientras le corto en vn hombro vn pedaço de carne, sacando para ello de vna caxa vn carniçero nuevo, y que /60/ echo poluos el dicho Duarte de Leon en la dicha herida, y asso el pedaço de carne, que seria del tamaño de medio real, y lo comio el dicho Duarte de Leon. Y para mayor justificacion, se ha mandado traer a esta audiencia para le tornar a amonestar, como se le amonesta de parte de Dios Nuestro Señor y de su gloriosa y bendita madre, Nuestra Señora la Virgen Maria, diga y confiesse enteramente verdad de lo que esta testificado, y de todo lo demas que huuiere fecho, dicho o visto hacer o decir a otras personas en ofensa de nuestra santa fee catholica, sin encubrir de si, ni de ellas, cosa alguna, ni leuantar a si, ni a otro, falso testimonio, porque con esto descargara su consciencia como fiel christiano, y se vsara con el de la misericordia que huuiere lugar, donde no se hara justicia.

Duarte de Leon se encierra
con sus hijas Clara y
Antonia.

Dixo que esto no lo vio, que si ellos lo hizieron, fue donde el no lo vio, que lo que se acuerda es que vn dia, mucho despues de auer presso en este Santo Officio a su madre, Ysauel Nuñez, vio que por la mañana, como a las ocho, llamo Duarte de Leon, su padre, a sus hermanas de este, Clara y Anttonia, y enserrandose en el almasen con ellas, solos salieron como a las nueue, trayendo en las manos la dicha Clara vnas tablillas de chocolate que se las auia dado el dicho su padre. Y que no supo para que se enserraron, ny lo que hizieron. Y que de alli a dos dias cayo enferma la dicha Clara, dziendo que echaua sangre por la boca. Y que estando en la cama la dicha su hermana Clara, vio que el dicho su padre, para alegrarla, le subio como vnos seis anillos de oro con sus piedras, y se las puso tres en cada mano. Y que no saue otra cossa.

Fuele dicho que se le haze sauer que este /61/ este su proçesso esta visto por personas de letras y rectas consiensias, a las quales a paresido que el sea puesto a quuestion de tormentto para que diga la uerdad.

Dixo que lo que el saue y le enseñaron ya esta escrito y asenttado.

E luego los dichos señores inquisidores y ordinario, visto que el dicho Simon de Leon estaua negatibo, pronunsiaron la senttensia siguiente.

Aqui la sentensia. /62/ [blank] /63/
Visto por nos los inquisidores ettcetera.
Christi nomine inuocato.

Fallamos, atento los autos y meritos de el dicho processo, indicios y sospechas que de el resultan contra el dicho Simon de Leon, que le deuemos de condenar y condenamos a que sea puesto a question de tormento, in caput alienum, en el qual mandamos este y perseuere por tanto tiempo quanto fuere nuestra voluntad, para que en el diga y confiesse la verdad, segun que por nos a sido amonestado, con protes-tacion que le hazemos, que si en el dicho tormento muriere, o fuere lisiado, o se siguiere efusion de sangre, o mutilacion de miembro, sea a su culpa y cargo, y no a la nuestra, por no hauer querido decir la verdad. Y por esta nuestra sentensia assi la pronunciamos y mandamos en estos escritos y por ellos.

Doctor Estrada [rúbrica] Doctor Mañozca [rúbrica]
El licenciado Higuera [rúbrica]

La qual dicha senttensia los dichos señores inquisidores /64/ y ordinario dieron y pronunsiaron este dia, mes y año susodicho, en la audiencia del dicho Santo Officio, presentte el dicho Simon de Leon y el dicho Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra, su curador, al qual se le notifico y dixo: que ya el dicho su menor espontaneamente y sin coa-çion alguna hauia confesado la berdad. Y era lo que se deuia creer, y no lo que deponen los testigos singulares. Y que asi hablando con el deuido respecto y acatamiento a tan santo tribunal, suplicaua de la dicha sentensia dada contra el dicho su menor, segun y como puede y deue, conforme a derecho e ynstruções y estilo del Santo Officio.

Los dichos señores inquisidores y ordinario dixerón no hauer lugar la dicha suplicasion, y con tantto fue mandado llevar a la camara del tormentto. Y llegando a este puntto, dixo que el queria dezir la uerdad, y que se vse con el de misericordia. Y huiendosele dicho que si vsara, con tal que no leuantte a si, ni a persona alguna, falsso testi-monio, porque en tanta pena a de yncurrir diziendo menttira, como negando la uerdad. Y promettio de dezir la pura berdad, y que lo que pasa es que poco despues de hauer presso por este Santo Officio a

Duarte de Leon açota vn su madre, Ysael Nuñez, bio que el dicho su Santo Christo padre, como /65/ como vnas sinco vezes en diferentes dias, asoto a un Santo Cristo del tamaño de media vara que tenia en su aposento su hermano Francisco, y para ello lo baxo por mandado del dicho su padre del almacén. Y que la primera vez fue vn biernes, como a las ocho de la noche, estando ya todos re[c]ojidos en cassa, como lo acostumbrauan siempre, desde las oraciones. Y para ello llamo a este confesante y a su hermana Clara, Antonia y Pancho. Y serro las puertas de dicho almacén, teniendo este confesante la vela en la mano, puesta en vn candelero de platta. Y se enttraron todos en el trasalmazen, y poniendo la vela sobre vna caxa blanca en que se guardaua pescado. Y el dicho su padre saco de vna caxa grande de china el dicho Santo Cristo que estaua en su cruz. Y poniendosele en las faldas a la dicha Anttonia, y con vna desiplina de rramales, que le parese saco de vn escritorio, asoto al dicho Santo Cristo, dandole muchos asotes y rresios en donde topaua en la cruz y en el cuerpo, diziendole no era buena su ley, sino la que el seguia. Y que por ella le daua a el su Dios dineros. Y que era vn embustero. Y que hauiendo durado esto /66/ vn grande ratto como asta las nueue, embiaua el dicho su padre a este confesante y a sus hermanas Clara y Anttonia y al dicho Pancho a arriba, y el se quedaua solo. Y no saue donde mettia al Santo Cristo despues, y lo que mas hazia.

2ª flagelacion al Santo Christo echa por Duarte de Leon y con asistencia de sus hijos Clara, Francisco, Antonia y Simon.

Y que el domingo siguiente a este viernes, como a las tres de la tarde, hauiendo mandado el dicho su padre serrar las puertas de la calle, llamo al dicho almacén a este confesante y a los dicho[s] Pancho, Clara y Antonia, y serrando todas las puerttas y ansimismo las benttanaz del dicho almacén, y con bela ensendida que traxo el negrilla Luisillo, y puesta en dicho candelero de platta, saco el dicho su padre el dicho Santo Cristo de dicha caxa de china. Y cojiendo vn cuero latigo, y biniendo desde el almacén al trasalmazen a donde estauan este confesante y sus hermanas y hermano, trayendo en la mano izquierda, boca abaxo, el dicho Santo Cristo, le benia dando con dicho latigo de asotes, y diziendole que su ley no era buena, y quantto della auia enbiado al mundo no balia nada. Y poniendole boca abaxo sobre vna caxa de renguel, prosiguio en darle de asotes resios, diziendole que no era buena su ley, sino

la que el guardaua y en /67/ en la que se auian de saluar. Y que çesando en los asotes, los embio arriba, hauiendo durado asta las quattro. Y que despидieron al harriero de Chametla, Juan Berde, saliendo a despedirle el dicho su hermano Pancho.

3ª flagelacion, concurriendo las mismas personas

Y que a la otra semana, el sauado siguiente, llamo el dicho su padre a este confesante y a sus hermanas Anttonia y Clara y al dicho Pancho, como a las ocho de la noche, y enserrandose en dicho almasen, saco otra vez el dicho Santto Cristo. Y poniendolo sobre la dicha caxa blanca, y poniendo la candela sobre vnas planchas de cobre, le asoto con dicho cuero, diziendole lo mesmo que las otras vezes. Y duraria como vna ora, echandolos arriba y quedandose solo, y que no saue donde pusso el dicho Santo Cristo.

Y que a otra semana siguiente, dia de jueues, como a las ocho de la noche, llamando a este confesante y a la dicha Clara y Antonia y Pancho, enserrandose en dicho almasen, torno el dicho su padre a sacar dicho Santo Cristo de dicha caxa de china, y boluiendolo a poner en dicha caxa blanca, boca abaxo, le asoto con el dicho cuero asta las nueue, dandole los asotes muy resio, y estando /68/ siempre el dicho su padre en jubon, diziendole lo mesmo que las otras vezes; y que por el estaua pressa la dicha su muger. Y que siempre que le asotaua, le daua los asotes de rratto en ratto. Y se paseaua por el dicho almasen echando votos de que la Ley de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo no era la buena, diziendoles a este confesante y a sus hermanas y hermano: mirad aqui por quien esta presa mi muger. Y que ellos callauan su boca, y luego los embiaua arriba.

5ª flagelacion con las mismas assistencias.

Y que la postrera vez fue vn miercoles de otra semana, recojiendose en el almasen todos, y sacando el dicho su padre el dicho Santo Cristo de dicha caxa de china y poniendolo en dicha caxa blanca, le asoto con dicho cuero desde las ocho de la noche hasta las nueue, diziendole lo proprio que las otras vez[es], y en acauando, los enuiaua arriba, y quedandose solo, sin sauer ni ber lo que asia, que solo vio que quando le asotaua, le sacaba²⁰ de dicha caxa de china.

Y que quando le asoto, teniendolo en las faldas la dicha su hermana Anttonia, se desmayo ella, conque Se desmaya Antonia, aço-

²⁰ The words *le sacaba* are written in the left margin.

tando Duarte de Leon en sus faldas al Santo Christo. nunca otra bes se le boluio a poner en las faldas, sino que le asoto sobre la dicha caxa. Y que este confesantte dezia al dicho /69/ al dicho su hermano Pancho que quando auia de dexar el dicho su padre a aquel Santto Cristo. Y le rrespondia que no lo sauia. Y que no se acuerda quien fue la persona que le pregunto que que asotes eran los que se dauan en el almasen. Y que no saue si en casa se sinttio esto de los asotes al Santo Cristo.

Era este Santo Christo el mesmo que Francisco de Leon baxo de su aposento. Y que lo que dixo en sus confesiones primeras del aporreamientto de un Santto Cristo era este mesmo y el que baxo de su aposentto el dicho su hermano Francisco. Y que no saue donde este este Santto Cristo, y que si lo ve, el lo conosera. Y que esto es lo que saue en este partticular, y si otra cosa se le acordare, pedira audien-
cia y lo confesara.

Duarte de Leon señala a Antonia en el hombro con asistencia de Francisco y de Simon, sus hijos. Y que no se acuerda quuantto tiempo a que el dicho su padre, de noche como a las ocho, y estando serrada la cassa, llamo al almasen a este confesantte y a su hermana Antonia y a Pancho, y a puertta[s] serradas en el trasalmasen, teniendo la bela este confesante, cojio a la dicha Antonia y la desnudo hasta la sintura. Y bendandola con una toalla que estaua en dicho almasen los ojos, y atandola las manos con un pañuelo de narizes, diziendola que le queria hazer vna señal para que Dios librasse a su madre, y con esto, sacando de vna caxa vn cuchillo carnisero nuevo bien /70/ bien afilado, cortto en el hombro ysquierdo vn pedaso de carne como medio real a la dicha Anttonia, de que le salio mucha sangre. Y le echo en la herida poluos amarillos. Y vio que el dicho su padre cojio la dicha carne, y con sangre la soasso en unas ascuas que estaua[n] en vn braserito, y se la comio solo. Y les dixo que no dixesen nada a los muchachos de la calle. Y estubo la dicha Anttonia quattro o sinco dias en la cama, diziendo que tenia baguidos de cauessa.

Duarte de Leon señala a su hija Anica,²¹ con asistencia de Francisco, Antonia y Simon. Y que denttro de pocos dias, no se acuerda quantos, tambien de noche, hizo lo proprio el dicho su padre en su hermana de este, Anica, cortandole en el proprio lugar que a la dicha Anttonia vn pedazo de carne [sic], atandole y bendandole los ojos, y hallandose

²¹ Before *Anica*, *Antonia* is written and crossed out.

presenttes este confesantte y sus hermanos Francisco y Anttonia, que estubo mala la dicha Anica. Y se comio el dicho Duarte de Leon el dicho pedazo de carne soasada. Y aun se acuerda que quando se acauo esto que a dicho se hizo en la persona de su hermana Anica, que mando el dicho su padre a Pancho que mirase si paresia alguna luz de las bentanas de las bezinas que caian al patio. Y que /71/ Y que hauiendolo hecho el dicho Francisco, enttro y le dixo que todas estauan serradas y sin luzes; conque los hizo subir arriba, y offresio a este confesantte de darle quando fuesse grande vn sinttillo de oro que tenia el dicho su padre puesto en un sombrero blanco. Y que esto es lo que saue y se le a acordado, y que si otra cossa se le acordare, pedira audiencia y lo declarara.

Pregunttado qual a sido la caussa que le a mobido a no auer confesado esto antes y hauer aguardado a que se hiziesse con el esta diligensia, y si fue ynstruido y enseñado por alguna persona, dixo: que el tener miedo le auia mobido a callarlo, pensando que se le auia de dar grande castigo, y que nadie le aconsejo que lo callase, y que pide perdon y misericordia de no hauerlo confessado, y que herro como muchacho mal adberttido, y propone firmemente de pedir audiencia cada y quando que otra cossa se le acordare. Y hauiendolo mandado aparttar, los dichos señores inquisidores fueron de paresser fuesse pregunttado con ynstansia sobre aquella terçera persona de fuera que su hermana Anttonia, como mas capaz, testifica hauerse hallado presente quando concurrieron a la fraxelasion del /72/ del Santto Cristo. Y con ttantto fue mandado traer a la dicha audiencia. Y le fue dicho que esta testificado que vna noche, como a las nueue, el dicho su padre llamo a una hermana suia, la qual hallo que estauan con el este confesantte y otro hermano suio, y ansimesmo otra siertta persona de fuera de cassa. Y que serro el proprio su padre ambas las puertas del dicho almasen, y se allo a los asotes que dio al dicho Santo Cristo la dicha persona de fuera de cassa, que se le amonesta y encarga de parte de Dios Nuestro Señor y de su gloriosa y bendita madre Nuestra Señora la Uirgen Maria, recorra su memoria y descargue su consensia, confesando la uerdad para que se vsse con el de misericordia, donde no se llebara a deuida exxecucion lo determinado.

Dixo que no se acuerda quien aya sido este ombre, porque solos ellos se hallauan quando el dicho su padre hazia aquellas malas cossas; que con quien ttenia amistad muy estrecha el dicho su padre era con

Duarte de Leon era gran amigo de Gaspar Rodriguez.

Francisco de Leon embio a este reo a Queretaro con vna carta para Jorge Ramirez de Montilla.

Y que para que fuesse, le compro vna yegua castaña en ttres pessos. Y con ella fue a Queretaro y dio la carta. Y le rrespondio el dicho Horje Ramires, dandole /73/ dandole cartta para el dicho su hermano; que denttro de quinze dias seria en esta çiudad, y que le trairia alguna limosna. Y que alli en Querettaro, el dicho Gaspar Rodriguez, que es

Gaspar Rodriguez encarga a este reo no diga le hauia visto en Queretaro.

vn hombre biejo, alto de cuerpo, grueso, enttrecano, y es mercader que trahina, le dio vna camissa y unas medias toscas de lana prietta Y le dixo que no dixese a nadie que el estaua alli en Querettaro, ni que lo auia visto, y que lo fuesse a uer otro dia. Y huiendo ydo a uerle,²⁴ hallo la casa serrada y con sedula, y era en los porttales de la plaza de arriua. Y le dixeran se auia benido a Mexico. Y le dio el dicho su primo solos dos pesos para benirse, y que en el camino juntto a San Juan [Juo.] del Rio le quitaron por jurtada la dicha yegua, y se bino como pudo a esta çiudad, y entro el jueues despues de seniza, y dio la carta al dicho su hermano.

Thomas Lopez Monforte le dio a este reo vna carta para Rodrigo Arias, vezino de Queretaro.

Y que se acuerda que tambien le dio para Queretaro vna cartta²⁵ Tomas Lopez Monforte,²⁶ que estaua en la carsel de penittensia, para vn mercader llamado Rodrigo Arias, que biuia juntto a casa de Don Juan [Juo.] de Frias, en que /74/ le pedia vna limosna. Y que no le dio nada, solo respuesta para el dicho Monfortte, de que estaua pobre. Y que el que le busco silla para yr fue el dicho Monforte. Y que a este Gaspar Rodriguez Presumpciones de que es queria mucho el dicho su padre. Y le rrega-

²² Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte indicated in his trial that this man was no longer living (in March, 1647). See "Causa criminal contra Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte, por judaizante," *loc cit.*, VIII (1937), p. 49, and Medina, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

²³ This was the brother of Simón Montero's wife. In the *auto* of 1648, he was condemned to wear the *sambenito* and to exile. See Genaro García, *op. cit.*, XXVIII, pp. 190-92, and Medina, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

²⁴ After *uerle*, the letter *l* is crossed out.

²⁵ MS. *cartto*

²⁶ Tomás López de Monforte was reconciled in the *auto de fe* of 1646. Cf. Luis González Obregón, *op. cit.* (1900), p. 696; Genaro García, *op. cit.*, V, p. 162, and XXVIII, pp. 87-88; and Medina, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

judaizante el dicho Gaspar laua y daua dineros. Y que este confesante Rodriguez, por la amistad con el dicho Duarte de Leon. entre si mesmo dezia que como el dicho su padre queria tanto al dicho porttugues, y que sin duda deuian de hazer algunas cosas de judios, pero que nunca se las vio hazer, ni saue otra cosa, y que no concurrio ombre ninguno de fuera mas que este confesante, su padre, hermano y hemana dicho[s], y que si vbiera concurrido otro, confesara para alcansar misericordia. Y con tantto fue mandado aparttar a la capilla.²⁷ Y hauiendole lleuado yncontinenti, se entro en la audiencia, y puestas las manos, dixo que queria dezir la uerdad.

Y dixo que lo que queria dezir era que vn dia, le parese que viernes, vio por la mañana, antes que prendiesen a su madre, que el dicho Duarte de Leon circuncida a su padre se enserro en el aposentto, junto a su hijo Francisco de Leon. la despensa, con su hermano Pancho vn buen rratto, y que salio llorando el dicho Pancho, y corriendo sangre de sus /75/ sus berguensas en la cauesa. Y que se acosto en la cama y enborujo en la frazada, diziendo llorando que le dolia[n] mucho sus berguensas y que no vio si le curaron, pero si reparo en que en ocho dias no podia junttar las piernas. Y hauiendole mandado retirar y boluer a la dicha capilla, dixo luego yncontinentti, boluiendose al tribunal, puestas las manos y con lagrimas, que el queria dezir la uerdad.

Modo de circuncidarle.

Y que quando se enserro el dicho su padre con su hermano Pancho en el dicho aposentto juntto a la despensa, se pusso a uer por un agujero que estaua en la puertta, lo que pasaua y para que se hauian enserrado. Y vio que lo hizo desnudar en cueros biuos, como que lo queria asotar, y le amarro los brazos por detras con vn cordel de Castilla, y lo puso en pie sobre vna escalera que estaua arimada²⁸ a la pared, buelta la barriga a los escalones. Y estando asi,²⁹ saco el dicho su padre de la faltriquera vn estuche, y del vn cuchillito pequeño, y metiendose por debaxo el dicho su padre, le agarro de sus berguensas, y con toda prestesa y en vn ynstante, le cortto en la cauesa. Y luego al puntto, lo boluio, y le desato /76/ las manos, y le hizo bestir, diziendole que no dixese nada a nadie. Y el dicho Pancho lloraua y le chorreaua mucha sangre. Y que no se acuerda quantto tiempo a, pero se acuerda que fue antes que le enseñasen Duarte de Leon circuncida sus padres la Ley de Moysen. Que vn dia,

²⁷ After *capilla*, *los di* is written and crossed out.

²⁸ The *arima* part of this word is written above *amarra*, crossed out

²⁹ After *asi*, the letter *l* is written and crossed out.

a Isauel Nuñez, su muger. no se acuerda qual, se enserraron en la despensa los dichos su padre y madre, y yendo este confesante a pedirle para papel al dicho su padre, y llegando a la puertta,³⁰ llamo este confesante, y abrio el dicho su padre. Y vio que la dicha su madre dezia: ay; quejandose,³¹ poniendo la mano sobre el ombro. Y que como el dicho su padre cortto en aquel lugar a sus hermanas la carne, presume cortaria en el mesmo lugar a su madre. Y que se confirma en que fue esto asi, porque hauiendo aporreado vn dia el dicho su padre a su madre, le dixo su hermana Clara al dicho su padre en su cara, que era vn perro judio, y que si hauia echo a la dicha su madre lo mesmo que a las demas, cortandoles la carne.

Duarte de Leon e Isauel Nuñez, su muger, se enserraron con Manuel Ramirez de Montilla

Y que se acuerda que vn dia se enserraron su padre y madre con Manuel Ramires de Montilla,³² solos en el aposento donde /77/ donde dormia su hermana Antonia, y desde las tres de la tarde hasta las quattro. Y salieron todos muy colorados, y se quedo la dicha su madre en el aposento. Y los dos se baxaron al almasen, y de alli embiaron chocolatte arriba, lo qual nunca hauian hecho. Y que Presume se enserraban para tratar de la Ley de Moysen, o para açotar algun Santo Christo presume que estarian tratando de su ley, aunque no saue que el dicho Montilla fuese judio, o quisas estarian asotando algun Santo Cristo. Y con tantto fue mandado llevar a la dicha capilla.

Mandase veer por çirujano si tiene la dicha Isauel Nuñez alguna señal en alguno de los dos hombros.

Y los dichos señores inquisidores fueron de paresçer que Juan [Juo.] Correa, sirujano de este Santo Officio biese luego yncontinentti a la dicha Ysauel Nuñez, si tenia la dicha señal, para berificasion de la berdad de lo que a confesado el dicho Simon de Leon. Y hauiendo sido mandado entrar en la dicha audiencia el dicho Juan Correa, le fue mandado que, so cargo de el juramentto que tiene fecho, viese a la dicha Ysauel Nuñez, si tenia alguna señal en alguno de los dos ombros, derecho o ysquierdo. Y hauiendo bajado juntamente conmigo, el presente secretario del secreto, y con Pedro de

³⁰ After *puertta*, *oyo* is written and crossed out.

³¹ After *quejandose*, *y* is written and crossed out.

³² According to Simón's earlier testimony (MS, p. 10), this man died at sea en route to the Philippines, six or seven years before. See also "Causa criminal contra Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte, por judaizante," *loc. cit.*, VIII (1937), p. 126 Medina (*op. cit.*, p. 202) indicates that, already deceased, he was burned in effigy in the *auto* of 1649.

Cangas, ayudante de alcaide de las carseles secrettas, a la en que estaua la dicha Ysael Nuñes, que es en el quartto nueuo, y huiendola visto con /78/ con ttodo cuidado a la luz del pattio, y subido a la dicha Hallale el cirujano señal en audiencia, dixo que hauia visto a la dicha el hombro derecho, echa, al Ysael Nuñes, y la auia hallado en el ombro parecer, con instrumento derecho, tres dedos arriba de la juntura cortante. del grueso, vna señal trasuersal que viene del ombro al pecho, poco menos de un medio real en obalo, que parese hauerse hecho con yns- trumento corttante, y sicatrix en la circunferensia de toda la dicha señal, que demuestra hauerse cortado el cutis y carne, haziendo con- cauo. Y que como quien a uisto las señales que tienen sus hijas Antonia y Ana Nuñes, la juzga por de la mesma calidad, y que no es antigua, y al pareser de poco mas de sinco años. Y que esto es lo que siente, segun su leal sauer y entender, y so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho. Y lo firmo. Y con tanto, fue mandado salir de l[a] audiencia.

El Maestro Jhoan de Correa [rúbrica]

E luego mandaron los dichos señores inquisidores enttrar en la audiencia al dicho Simon de Leon. Y estando en ella, dixo que lo que Francisco Rodriguez, de of- se le auia acordado era que el hombre que ficio sombrerero, ya difunto, se hallo de fuera de casa, quando asoto el se hallo a la flagellacion del Santo Christo. dicho su padre al Santo Cristo, fue Fran- cisco Rodrigues,³³ sombrerero que biuia en la calle de la Asequia, y ya murio despues de pressa la dicha su madre. Y que con esto /79/ Y que con esto que a confesado, a dicho enteramente la uerdad y des- cargado su consiensia. Y que si otra cosa se le acordare, lo confesara, y pedira audiencia, y que como muchacho no la auia confesado entera- mente, de que pide misericordia. Y amonestado que lo piense vien y diga la uerdad, fue mandado boluer a su carsel. Y lo firmo.

Testado: los di; amarr; oyo; y; no balga. Enttre renglones: arrima; balga.

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Evgenio de Sarauia [rúbrica]

³³ I find no convincing evidence that this man was tried by the Inquisition, although it seems likely that he may have been. It is possible also that he may have escaped detection and detention, since, as Simón de León states in this passage, he was dead before Simón's trial began. His is a very common name, and many persons bearing it were tried and punished by the Inquisition. See Alfonso Toro, "Los judíos en la Nueva España," *Publicaciones del Archivo general de la*

Audiencia en que se ratifico
ante su curador.

En la çuad de Mexico, lunes, seis dias del mes de mayo de mil y seiscientos y quarenta y siete años, estando en su audiencia de la mañana el *señor ynquisidor Doctor Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca*, mando traer a ella a Simon de Leon. Y siendo presente, le fue dicho que es lo que ha acordado en su negoçio y caussa, lo diga, y en todo verdad, so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho.

Duarte de Leon, despues de la prision de Montero, su hermano, se lamenta con sus hijos Francisco, Jorge, Simon, Clara, Antonia y Ana

Dijo que lo que se le ha acordado es que quando prendieron a /80/ Simon Montero, luego que le trageron al Santo Officio, entro³⁴ su padre, Duarte de Leon, en la recamara donde el dormia, y llamo a este confessante y a sus hermanos, Francisco y Jorge, Clara, Antonia y Ana, y llorando les dixo que ya no faltaba mas que a el le prendiessen. Y todos comensaron a llorar con el, diciendole la dicha Antonia que no dixesse aquello.

Duarte de Leon se ensierra con su hijo Francisco. Pareçe mira al entierro de la plata labrada y barras.

Y que otro dia siguiente, como a las tres de la tarde, le pidio el dicho su padre que le tragesse al almalzen vna candela de çebo ençendida. Y haviendosela dado, le mando que llamasse a su hermano Pancho. Y haviendole llamado y benido, le ymbio el dicho su padre a que guardasse la puerta de la calle, y no dexasse entrar a nadie, como lo hizo. Y que otro dia por la mañana, vio salir al dicho su padre con vna barreta en la mano, y que el dicho su padre y Pancho sacaron en vn seston plata labrada, ya verde de haver estado enterrada.

Duarte exorta a sus hijos Francisco, Simon, Antonia y Ana guardan *[sic]* la Ley Moysen.

Y que despues de pressa su madre y Simon Montero, llamaba el dicho su padre a este confessante y a sus hermanos Francisco, Antonia y Anica, y les deçia que lo que les havia dicho era lo bueno, y que guardassen la Ley de Moysen, y no lo dixesen a nadie, y que ellos le prometian de assi lo haçer.

Francisco Home, alias Vicente Henriquez, difunto en estas carceles, se hallo a la flagellacion del Santo

Y que examinando su conçiencia, se ha acordado que el /81/ el hombre que assisia con su padre, y asotaba el Santo Christo,

nación (Mexico), XX (1932), pp. 55-82, and Luis González Obregón, *op. cit.* (1900), pp. 685-709. Medina (*op. cit.*, index) lists no less than six persons of this name who were tried by the Inquisition of Mexico.

³⁴ After *entro*, *el dicho* is written and crossed out.

Christo con Duarte de Leon era Francisco Home,³⁵ que tenia en la mano y demas complices. ysquierda cortado el primer dedo, y del solo el sequesuelo. Y que con esto que ha dicho, ha descargado su conçiencia; que si de otra cossa se acordare, pedira audiencia y lo dira tambien.

Y habiendo sido mandado entrar en la audiencia el Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra, su curador, le fue dicho al dicho Simon de Leon que este atento porque se le leera lo que el sabado quatro deste presente mes de mayo dixo y declaro en esta audiencia, despues que se le notifico la sentencia del tormento, para que agora que esta fuera de aquel temor, vea si es aquello verdad, o si ay alguna cossa que añadir v enmendar, de manera que en todo diga la verdad, sin respecto alguno, so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho.

E luego le fue leído lo que dixo en esta audiencia en dicho dia sabado, quatro del mes de mayo de quarenta y siete, de verbo ad verbum. Y habiendosele leído y dicho que lo havia oído y entendido, dixo que el declaro en la dicha audiencia lo que se le ha leído y esta bien escrito, y solo tiene que decir demas, que el dicho Francisco Rodriguez, sombrerero, como ha confessado, se hallo vna vez en la flagelacion de los azotes que dio su padre al Santo Christo, y que el dicho Francisco Home se hallo otra vez que su padre azoto al dicho Santo Christo, y no estaba pressa la dicha su madre Ysabel Nuñez, y que el dicho Francisco Home vivia en su cassa, y alli le curaron vna enfermedad. Y que /82/ con esto no tiene otra cossa que añadir, alterar, ni enmendar, porque como esta escrito y assentado, es verdad. Y en ello se afirmaba y afirmo, ratificaba y ratifico. Y siendo neçessario, lo decía de nuebo, en presençia y con asistencia del dicho su curador. Y que no lo decía por temor del tormento, ni por otra caussa alguna, sino porque es verdad. Y lo firmaron.

Testado: el dicho.

Licenciado Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra [rúbrica]

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Thomas Lopez de Erenchun [rúbrica]

³⁵ Medina (*op. cit.*, p. 200) lists this man among those burned in the *auto* of 1649

Ratificacion ante las
honestas personas.

E luego incontinenti, estando presentes por honestas y religiosas personas los padres Fray Diego de Segura y Fray Thomas de Salaz, presviteros de la orden del *señor Santo Domingo*, que tienen jurado el secreto, fue recevido juramento en forma del dicho Simon de Leon, so cargo del qual prometio de decir verdad

Fuele dicho *que* se le hace saver *que* el promotor fiscal de este Santo Officio le presenta por testigo ad perpetuam rei memoriam, y en casso necessario para el plenario, contra Duarte de Leon Xaramillo e Ysabel Nuñez, sus padres, Clara Nuñez, Francisco de Leon, Antonia Nuñez, Jorge de Leon y Ana Nuñez, sus hermanos, Simon Montero, su /83/ su tio, Manuel Ramires de Montilla y Jorge Ramirez de Montilla, Antonio Rodriguez, sastre, Gaspar Rodriguez, Thomas Lopez Monforte, Rodrigo Ariaz, Francisco Rodriguez, sombrerero, Francisco Home, *que* este atento y se le leeran sus dichos, y si en ellos huviere *que* alterar, añadir v enmendar, lo haga de manera *que* en todo diga verdad, y se afirme y ratifique en ella, porque lo *que* agora dixere, parara prejuicio a las dichas personas. Y luego le fue leido lo *que* dixo y depusso contra ellas en las audiencias de quatro, ocho, onse y treinta del mes de abril, quatro y seis de este presente mes de mayo de quarenta y siete. Y siendole leido todo de verbo ad verbum, y haviendo el dicho Simon de Leon dicho *que* lo havia oido y entendido, dixo *que* aquellos eran sus dichos y el los havia dicho, segun se le havian leido, y estaban bien escritos y assentados, y no havia *que* alterar, añadir ni enmendar, porque como estaban escritos eran verdad. Y en ellos se afirmaba y afirmo, ratificaba y ratifico, y siendo necesario, los decia de nuevo contra las dichas personas, y no por odio, sino por el descargo de su conciencia. Y doy fee *que* quando hizo esta ratificacion el dicho Simon de Leon, estaba en dicha audiencia bueno y sano y sin prisiones. Y muy amonestado *que* todavia lo piense bien, fue mandado volver a su carcel Y lo firmo.

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Licenciado Thomas Lopez de Erenchun [rúbrica] /84/

Votos.

En la ciudad de Mexico, a benttiocho dias del mes de nobiembre de mill seisçientos y quarentta y siete años, estando juntos en la sala de la audiencia del Santo Officio los

señores inquisidores Doctores Don Francisco de Estrada y Escouedo, Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca, Licenciado Don Bernaue de la Higuera y Amarilla, y por ordinario de este arzob[is]pado, el dicho señor inquisidor Doctor Don Juan [Juo.] Saenz de Mañozca, que tiene las vezes de ordinario de que yo, el pressente secretario del secreto, doy ffee. Y por consultor, el Doctor Don Pedro de Barrienttos Lomelin, tesorero de la cattredral [sic] de esta çuadad, en consulta y bista de prosessos, hauiendo bisto el proçesso criminal tocante a Simon de Leon, soltero natural y bezino de esta çuadad, hijo legitimo de Duartte de Leon e Ysael Nuñes, pressos en estas carseles, en conformidad dixeron: que su boto y pareser es: declararlo hauer sido hereje judaizantte, apostatta e yncursso en sentensia de excomunion mayor y en ttodas las otras penas e ynhaulidades en que caen e yncurren los herejes, y en confiscacion y perdimiento de sus bienes, aplicandolos al real fisco, y condenarlo a auto publico de la fee y en sambenito por vn año y en destierro perpetuo de ttodas las Yndias en la forma que esta mandado por cartta de los señores del consejo de Su Magestad de la Santa General Inquisicion, y en las demas inhaulidades y penitten-sias conttenidas en derecho y acostumbradas imponer a los herejes judaizanttes. Y lo firmaron Doctor Estrada, Doctor Mañozca, el Li-cenciado Higuera, Doctor Barrentos [sic]. Ante mi, el Licenciado Thomas Lopez de Erenchun.

Concuerta con el original que esta en la camara del secreto de este Santo Officio, en el libro de votos a foras quarentta y nueue, de que doy fee.

Licenciado Evgenio de Sarauia [rúbrica] /85/

Simon de Leon

Visto por nos los inquisidores ap[ostoli]cos contra la heretica pravedad y apostas[ia], por autoridad apostolica, en esta çuadad y arçobispado de Mexico, estados y provinçias de la Nueva España &ª, juntamente con el ordinario, vn proçesso y causa criminal, que ante nos a pendido y pende entre partes, de la vna, el promotor fiscal de este Santo Officio, actor acusante, y de la otra, reo defendiente Simon de Leon, natural de esta dicha çuadad, que esta presente, soltero, hijo de Duarte de Leon Xaramillo, natural de Castelo Blanco, en Portugal, que a abjurado de vehementemente, sospechoso en el judaismo, en auto publico de la fee, çelebrado por esta Inquisicion, y de Isael Nuñez, su muger, ambos presos al presente en este Santo Officio por

observantes de la Ley de Moysen, sobre y en raçon, que siendo el dicho Simon de Leon christiano baptizado y confirmado, y goçando como tal de las graçias, priuilegios y exçempçiones, de que los fieles y catolicos christianos goçan /86/ goçan y deben goçar, contraviniedo a la profesion fecha en el santo batizmo, auia dicho, fecho y cometido, visto haçer, deçir y cometer muchos y graues delitos contra lo que cree, tiene, predica y enseña nuestra Santa Madre la Iglesia Catolica Romana y Ley Euangelica, apostatando de ella y pasandose a la obseruançia y creençia de la Ley muerta de Moysen, guardandola con todos sus ritos y çeremonias, creyendo de todo su coraçon que era la buena y verdadera, y en la que se auia de saluar, fingiendo ser verdadero y catolico christiano, y que no era la buena y verdadera la de Nuestro Señor Jesuchristo. Y que abria mas de seis o siete años que su padre, Duarte de Leon, e Isauel Nuñez, su madre (hauiendo despedido para el caso çiertos harrieros que venian a vuscar al dicho su padre), le cogieron vn dia a solas en el almagèn, y le dixerón que creyesse en la Ley de Moysen que ellos guardaban, que era por donde se auian de saluar, que la Ley de Christo, que seguia, no era buena, que la buena era la que ellos seguian, y que auia de haçer lo que ellos le mandassen, y que mirasse no lo /87/ no lo dixesse a nadie, y que no lo supiesen los de la calle, y que estuuiesse en lo que le deçian; conque luego, sin otra diligenciã, llevado de la sangre ynfecta que tiene, dejó la Ley de Nuestro Señor Jesuchristo, y se paso a la de Moysen, creyendo salvarse en ella. Y que despues de auer dado el si a los porfiados y obstinados judios de dichos sus padres, le trato bien el dicho su padre, y le daua las mejores medias y çapatos, siendo asi que antes que fuesse judayçante, le daua vn vestido de paño burdo y qualque camisa de manta, y por pequeña ocasion, le cogia y amaraua desnudo en queros en vna escalera, y otras veçes lo amaraua a la ley de Bayona, y le ponía un palo en la boca, amarrado como mordaça, porque no le pidiesse que lo dejasse, por amor de Dios y por la Virgen Santissima, y le daua tantos açotes con las arriendas de su caballo que le ponía su cuerpo mas morado que vn tafetan. Y que teniendole ya reduçido a su ley, muchas noches, en presençia de la dicha su madre, llamaua al dicho Simon de Leon y a los denias sus hermanos y hermanas /88/ y hermanas el dicho su padre, y sentandose ençima de la cama todos juntos, trataban de que era buena su ley y que Dios les daba dineros por ella, y que la de los christianos no era buena, y de el modo con que auian de haçer sus ayunos, con el rigor de no comer, ni beber, en todo el dia

asta la noche, salida la estrella, en que auian de çenar pescado Y otras vezes, los examinaua en su almagèn de el aprobecamiento que tenian en la guarda de dicha ley, sus ritos, çeremonias y ayunos. Y despues, mui de ordinario, le deçian dichos sus padres que creyesse en lo que le auian enseñado, procurando fundamentarle en el judaizmo, con el falso zelo que de la obseruançia de el tenian. Y le hiçieron ayunar diferentes ayunos en la forma que le auian enseñado. Y que vey a ayunar a los dichos sus padres y hermanos, y las riñas que para disimularse fingia el dicho Duarte de Leon, su padre, con ellos, y no comia al medio dia, y el dicho su padre, o se estaua en el almagèn, o se yua a casa de çiertos veçinos suyos, y que en anocheçiendo, les subia fruta, mui alegre de verlos tan entregados a la guarda de su muerta ley, y çenaba con ellos en su /89/ en su aposento ensaladas de lechugas, y como todos, se ponian los viernes en la noche camisas y ropa³⁶ limpia, en persona y camas, y se³⁷ variauan dichos viernes e ynuauan a comprar quartos traçeros de carnero para comer. Y asimesmo se hallo presente con dos hermanas suyas y otro su hermano y otras çiertas personas a çierto atroz y grauissimo delito que cometio el dicho su padre en dicho almagèn por continuados dias y en diferentes viernes, ençerrandose para ello de noche. Y procuro disuadir a çierta persona domestica, que reparo en el ruydo y le pregunto lo que era, diçiendole el dicho Simon de Leon que era castigo que se haçia en vn gato, porque se comia el pescado. Y que para executar estos tan enormes desacatos, metio vna vez la vela ençendida el dicho Simon de Leon en el trasalmagèn. Y se hallo presente quando en dicho trasalmagèn çircunçido el obstinadissimo y maldito judio de su padre a dichas dos sus hermanas, cogien-dolas y desnudandolas asta la çintura, y vendandolas los ojos y atandolas las manos y diçiendolas que las queria haçer seña para que /90/ para que su Dios librasse a su madre, ofreçiendole aquel sacrificio, y con un cuchillo bien afilado, las corto en el ombro yzquierdo vn pedaço de carne como medio real, la qual cogio dicho su padre con sangre, y la soaso en vnas asquas, y se la comio, advirtiendoles no dixessen nada a los muchachos de la calle, y ofreçio al dicho Simon de Leon de darle quando fuesse grande vn sintillo de oro que tenia puesto en vn sombrero blanco. Y que assimesmo, vio que en çierto dia, se ençerraron en la despensa los dichos sus padres, y çircunçido a la dicha

³⁶ The words *y ropa* are inserted above the line and *limpias* is corrected to *limpia*

³⁷ This *se* is inserted above the line

su madre el dicho su padre, cortandole en el ombro yzquierdo³⁸ vn pedaço de carne, como a dichas sus hermanas, y que la dicha su madre deçia: ay, ay, poniendose la mano sobre dicho ombro. Y en çierto dia que ayunaba el dicho Simon de Leon con el dicho su padre, no pudiendo llevar la hambre, comio y quebranto el ayuno, y temiendo que no lo supiese dicho su padre, que a las onçe de la mañana auia salido de casa en su caballo castaño, diçiendo yua a comprar poluora a Los Molinos, y voluio a las tres de la tarde por disimular, que ayunaua como lo haçia de ordinario, y le castigasse con la crueldad que solia, se quito de ruydos y hiço fuga por mas de dos meses, vuscando rogador que le trajesse. Y que /91/ Y que auiendo sido amonestado muchas y diuersas veçes confesasse la verdad, no lo auia hecho, perjurandose y proçediendo en sus confesiones con notable malicia, y como tan bien yndustriado en negar y encubrir sus delitos y de complices con que se auia hecho yndigno de la misericordia que en este dicho Santo Offiçio se acostumbra vsar con los buenos y verdaderos confitentes. Y que era de presumir y creer que el dicho Simon de Leon auia fecho, dicho y cometido otros muchos y graues delitos contra nuestra santa fee catolica, y vistolos haçer, decir y cometer a otras muchas personas, lo qual callaua y encubria maliciosamente, de que le protestaua acusar en la prosecuçion de su causa, y cada y quando que a su notiçia llegasse, y siendo neçessario, desde luego le acusaua, y de herege judayçante, apostata de nuestra santa fee catolica, y que queria vivir y morir en la falsa creençia de la reprobada y muerta Ley de Moysen en que vive y a vivido, y de perjuero, fautor y encubridor de hereges judayçantes. Y que por tanto, açceptando sus confesiones en quanto por el haçian, y no en mas, protestando no obligarse a demasiada prueba, nos pedia y suplicaua huuiessemos su relaçion y acusaçion por verdadera y su yntension por bien probada /92/ probada y declarassemos al dicho Simon de Leon por hechor y perpetrador de los delitos de que le acusaua, y por herege judayçante, apostata de nuestra santa fee catolica y auer yncurrido en sentençia de excomunion mayor, y estar de ella ligado, y que le condenasemos en las mayores y mas graues penas estableçidas por derecho comun, leyes o pracmaticas de estos reynos, motus proprios de Su Santidad e ynstruçiones de el Santo Offiçio, relajando su persona a la justiçia y braço seglar,

³⁸ The physician who made the examination testified that it was on the right shoulder. See MS, p 78

declarando todos sus bienes perteneçer al real fisco de este Santo Offiçio, desde el dia *que* auia començado a cometer el dicho delito, para que fuesse dignamente castigado, y al pueblo christiano exemplo y escarmiento. Y nos pidio *que* en caso neçessario que el dicho Simon de Leon fuesse puesto a question de tormento, y en su persona se repitiesse asta que enteramente dixesse la verdad, y serle hecho entero cumplmiento de justiçia. Y juro no ser de malicia la dicha acusaçion, y auendo sido el dicho Simon de Leon preso con vastante ynformaçion y recluso en las carçeles secretas de este Santo Offiçio, se tuuo luego con el la primera audiencia /93/ audiencia de offiçio, y deuajo de juramento, dixo llamarse Simon de Leon y ser natural de esta çudad de Mexico y de edad de quinze años y aprendiz de el offiçio de sastre, y *que* auia sido preso a los tres de abril de mill y seisçientos y quarenta y siete. Y estando declarando su genealogia, pidio misericordia, diçiendo auer sido engañado como muchacho, y que su padre y madre le auian enseñado la Ley de Moysen, y que les auia dado credito y pasadosse a la dicha ley, creyendo salvarse en ella, como se lo deçian sus padres, y que la auia guardado asta el punto en que estaua confesando, porque el no auia de andar diçiendo mentiras; la qual dejaua de todo su coraçon, y que lo que le mouia a dejarla era ver que andan arrastrados los judios, como el lo andaua, sin auer quien le diesse vn pedaço de pan, llamandole de judio e hijo de judios. Y auiendo confesado otras cosas, huyendo con notable malicia el cuerpo a lo mas graue, de que estaua testificado, prosiguió en declarar su genealogia, y dixo que sus padres y abuelos eran portugueses judios y sus abuelos ensambenitados y su padre dos veçes preso en esta Inquisiçion, y que el era christiano bautizado y confirmado en la parrochial de señora Santa Catalina Martir de esta /94/ de esta dicha çudad. Y que siempre auia confesado y comulgado y oydo misa, quando lo manda la Santa Madre Iglesia, y que la quaresma de el año de mill y sey[s]çientos y quarenta y seis, auia confesado en la cathedral de esta dicha çudad con vn clerigo saçerdote, y en ella comulgado, y que la bulla, que el auia comprado, se le perdio, porque el dicho su padre nunca se la compro, ni a ninguno de sus hermanos, ni a la gente de su casa. Y se signo y santiguo, y dio buena quenta de la dotrina christiana, y que sauia leer y escreuir mal y lo auia aprendido en esta dicha çudad de çiertos maestros que nombro, y que auia estado en Queretaro, San Luis de la Paz, Minas de Çichu en Iguala, Tasco y en la Puebla, y que sauia lo auian preso por judio, y siendo amonestado

segun estilo, primera, segunda y tercera vez confesasse la verdad y descargasse su conçiencia, para que se vsasse con el de toda misericordia, dixo auer dicho todo lo que sauia. Y para substançiar, conforme a derecho, esta su causa, se le proueyo de curador, en cuya presençia se ratifico en sus confesiones, y juro de responder verdad a la dicha acusaçion, y puesta, respondio ser el contenido, y nego lo /95/ nego lo mas graue de ella. Y siendole dado traslado y nombrado letrado, con su pareçer alego y concluyo para el articulo que huuiesse lugar de derecho. Y siendo por nos reçiuida la causa a prueba, el dicho promotor fiscal hiço reproducçion de los testigos de la sumaria, pidiendo se ratificassen y que se examinassen los contestes y se hiçiesse publicaçion de ellos. Y ratificados los testigos y fecha la dicha publicaçion, respondio a ella deuajo de juramento, que hiço en presençia de el dicho su curador, persistiendo en negar lo que auia negado en la acusaçion, y auidendosele dado traslado, con pareçer de el dicho su letrado, alego y concluyo difinitiuamente, de que se dio traslado al dicho promotor fiscal, y con pareçer y acuerdo de el ordinario y de personas de letras y rectas conçiencias, se proçedio a çierta diligencia secreta. Y en la moniçion charitatiua que se le hiço pronunciaçion de la sentençia, y notificaçion de ella en presençia de su curador, perseuero negando, asta que, queriendose llevar a debida execuçion, confeso la verdad, y satisfiço plenamente a lo que estaua conuençido y testificado, y dixo /96/ y dixo, que el miedo le auia movido a callar los delitos que asta aquel punto auia callado y encubierto, pensando se le auia de dar gran castigo, de que pedia perdon y misericordia, y que auia herrado, como muchacho mal aduertido. Y pasadas veynte y quatro horas se ratifico ante dicho curador, pidiendo de nueuo misericordia, y protestando querer viuir y morir en la Ley de Nuestro Señor Jesuchristo, que auia dejado, engañado de sus padres y por librarse de los crueles castigos que en el auia hecho su padre, y que cumpliria con toda humildad qualesquier penitençias que le fuessen ympuestas. Y estando en este estado de se ver y determinar, auido nuestro acuerdo y pareçer, con personas de letras y rectas conçiencias:

Christi nomine invocato.

Fallamos, atento los autos y meritos del dicho proçesso, que el dicho promotor fiscal probó bien y cumplidamente su acusaçion y querella, assi por testigos, como por confeçion del dicho Simon de Leon. Damos y declaramos su intençion por bien probada. Por ende

que deuenos declarar y declaramos el dicho Simon de Leon /97/ de Leon hauer sido herege, apostata, judaizante, fautor y encubridor de hereges, y hauerse pasado a la reprouada, caduca y muerta Ley de Moises y sus sequaços, creyendo saluarse en ella, y por ello hauer caydo e incurrido en sentençia de excomunion maior y en todas las otras penas e inhabilidades en que caen e incurren los hereges, que debaxo de titulo y nombre de christianos haçen y cometen semejantes delictos, y en confiscaçion y perdimiento de sus bienes, los quales aplicamos a la camara y fisco de Su Magestad y a su receptor en su nombre, desde el dia y tiempo que començo a cometer los dichos delictos, cuya declaraçion en nos reseruamos. Y como quiera que con buena conçiencia le pudieramos condemnar en las penas en derecho estableçidas contra los tales hereges, mas atento que el dicho Simon de Leon en las confesiones que ante nos hiço, mostro señales de contriçion y arrepentimiento, pidiendo a Dios Nuestro Señor perdon de sus delictos, y a nos, penitençia con misericordia, protestando que de aqui adelante queria viuir y morir en nuestra *santa fee catholica*, y estaua presto de cumplir qualquiera penitençia que por nos le fuese impuesta, y abjurar los dichos errores, y /98/ haçer todo lo demas que por nos le fuese mandado (considerando que Dios no quiere la muerte del pecador, sino que se conuierta y viva); si assi es que el dicho Simon de Leon se conuierte a nuestra *santa fee catholica* de puro coraçon y fee no fingida, y que ha confesado enteramente la verdad, no encubriendo de si, ni de otra persona viua o defuncta, cossa alguna, queriendo vsar con el de misericordia, le deuenos admitir y admitimos a reconciliaçion. Y mandamos que en pena y penitençia de lo por el fecho, dicho y cometido, el dia del autto salga al cadahalço con los otros penitentes, en cuerpo, sin çinto y sin bonete, con vna bela verde de çera en las manos, y con vn hauito penitencial de paño amarillo con dos aspas coloradas del señor San Andres, donde le sea leyda esta nuestra sentençia, y alli publicamente abjure los dichos sus errores que ante nos tiene confesados, y toda otra qualquier espeçie de heregia y apostasia. Y fecha la dicha abjuraçion, mandamos absolver y absolbemos al dicho Simon de Leon de qualquier sentençia de excomunion en que por raçon /99/ raçon de lo sussodicho ha caido e incurrido, y le vnimos y reincorporamos al gremio y vnion de la Santa Madre Iglesia Catholica, y le restituimos a la partiçipaçion de los Sanctos Sacramentos y comunion de los fieles y catholicos christianos della.³⁹ Y le condenamos a carçel y

³⁹ Margin: *ojo*.

hauito por vn año, y que el dicho hauito le traiga publicamente ensima de sus bestiduras, y tenga y guarde carçeleria en la carçel de penitencia de esta çiudad, y que todos los domingos y fiestas de guardar, baia a oyr la missa mayor y sermon, quando le huuiere en la santa yglesia cathedral della, con los otros penitentes, y los sauados, en romeria a la iglesia que se le señalare, donde de rodillas y con mucha deuocion, rese çinco vezes el Pater Noster con el Aue Maria, Credo y Salue Regina, y se confiese y reçiua el Sanctissimo Sacramento del altar, las tres Pascuas de cada vn año, los dias que viuieren, y anssi mesmo le condemnamos a destierro preciso de todas estas Yndias Occidentales y de la çiudad de Seuilla y villa de Madrid, corte de Su Magestad, y que se embarque a cumplirlo en la primera flotta que del puerto de San Juan de Villua saliere, de buelta para los reinos de España. Y que huiendo llegado a ellos, dentro de vn mes, se presente en el tribunal del Sancto Oficio /100/ de la Inquisicion de la dicha çiudad de Seuilla, para que sea conoçido y se tome raçon de su persona y se le señale la parte y lugar en que ha de cumplir lo que le restare de hauito y carçeleria. Y para que en caso de contrauencion se pueda proçeder contra el dicho Simon de Leon, como contra ympenitente, se imbie relacion desta su senttencia y condemnaçion con las señas y edad que tiene, al Illustrisimo y Reverendisimo Señor Inquisidor General y señores del consejo de Su Magestad de la Santa General Inquisicion y a los tribunales de la dicha Inquisicion de Seuilla, y de las çiudades de Lima y Cartagena en estas dichas Yndias Occidentales. Y declaramos al dicho Simon de Leon ser inhauil, y le inhauilitamos, para que no pueda tener, ni obtener, dignidades, benefiçios, ni ofiçios eclesiasticos ni seglares que sean publicos ni de honrra, ni traer sobre si, ni en su persona, oro, plata, ni piedras preçiosas, ni seda, chamelote, ni paño fino, ni andar a cauallo, ni traer armas, ni exerçer, ni vsar de las otras cossas que por derecho comun, leyes y pragmaticas de estos reinos e instruçiones del Sancto Oficio de la Ynquisicion a los semejantes inhauiles y a su deçendencia en los grados que les estan señalados, les estan prohibidos. Lo qual todo le /101/ le mandamos que assi haga, guarde, y cumpla, so pena de ympenitente relapsso. Y por esta nuestra sentençia difinitiba juzgando, asi lo pronunçiamos y mandamos, en estos escritos y por ellos.

[D]octor Don Françisco de Estrada y Escouedo [rúbrica]

Doctor Don Juan [Juo.] Saenz de Mañozca [rúbrica]

El Licenciado Don Bernabe de la Higuera y Amarilla [rúbrica]

Pronunciacion.

Dada y pronunciada fue esta sentencia por los sseñores ynquisidores y ordinario, que en ella firmaron sus nombres, estando celebrando auto publico de la fee particular, en la yglesia de la casa professa de la Compañia de Jesus de esta ciudad de Mexico, en vnos cadahalsos altos de madera que en ella auia, lunes, a treinta de março de mill y seis cientos y quarenta y ocho años, presentes el Licenciado Thomas Lopez de Erenchum [*sic*], secretario de este Santo Officio, que haze officio de promotor fiscal del, y Simon de Leon, con las ynsignias en dicha sentencia contenidas.

E luego, acabado el dicho auto, el dicho Simon de Leon abjuro publicamente los delitos de heregia por el en su proceso confessados, y toda otra qualquier especie della, en la forma y manera siguiente:
/102/

Aquy la abjuracion /103/

Yo, Simon de Leon, natural y vecino de esta ciudad de Mexico, que aqui estoi presente ante vuestras sseñorias como inquisidores apostolicos que son, contra la heretica pravedad y apostasia, en esta ciudad de Mexico y su partido, por autoridad apostolica y ordinaria, puesta ante mi esta señal de la cruz y los Sacrosantos Euangelios, que con mis manos corporalmente toco, reconociendo la verdadera catolica y apostolica fe, abjuro, detesto y anatematizo toda especie de heregia y apostasia que se leuante contra la santa fe catolica y ley euangelica de Nuestro Redentor y Saluador Jesuchristo, y contra la Sede Apostolica y Iglesia Romana, especialmente aquella en que yo, como malo, e caydo y tengo confesado ante vuestras sseñorias, que aqui publicamente se me a leydo, y de que e sido acusado, y juro y prometo de tener y guardar siempre aquella santa fe, que tiene, guarda y enseña la Santa Madre Iglesia, y que sere siempre obediente a Nuestro Señor el Papa, y a sus sucesores, que canonicamente sucedieren en la Santa Silla Apostolica, y a sus determinaciones. Y confieso que todos aquellos que contra esta santa fe catolica vinieren son dignos de condenacion, y prometo de nunca me juntar con ellos y que quanto en mi fuere, los perseguire, y las heregias que de ellos supiere las reuelare, y notificare a qualquier señor inquisidor de la heretica prauedad y prelado de la Santa Madre Iglesia donde quier que me hallare. Y juro y prometo que reciuire humilmente y con paciencia qualquier o qualesquier penitencia o penitencias que me an sido o fueren ympuestas con todas mis

/104/ mis fuerças y poder, y las cumplire en todo y por todo, sin yr ni venir contra ello, ni contra cosa alguna ni parte de ello. Y quiero y consiento y me place que si yo en algun tiempo (lo que Dios no quiera) fuere o viniere contra las cosas susodichas, o contra qualquier cosa o parte de ellas, que en tal caso sea auido y tenido por ympenitente relapso, y me someto a la correccion y seueridad de los sacros canones, para que en mi, como persona culpada de el dicho delicto de heregia, sean executadas las censuras y penas en ellos contenidas, y desde ahora para entonces, y desde entonces para ahora, consiento que aquellas me sean dadas y executadas en mi, y las aya de sufrir quando quier que algo se me probare auer quebrantado de lo susodicho por mi abjurado. Y ruego al presente notario, que me lo de por testimonio, y a los presentes, que sean de ello testigos. el secretario Thomas Lopez de Erenchun, que haze officio de fiscal de este Santo Officio, y Don Diego Orejon Ossorio, de la Orden de Santiago, corregidor de esta ciudad, y Don Prudencio de Armenta y Don Fernando de Santotir Guebar, alcaldes ordinarios, y Don Marcos Rodriguez de Guebara, alguacil mayor, y Don Francisco de Solis y Barrasa y Leandro de Gatica, regidores, y otras muchas personas que se hallaron presentes.

Y lo firmo en presencia del Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra, su curador y letrado, que assi mesmo lo firmo.

Doctor Don Miguel de Ybarra [rúbrica]

Simo[n] de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Evgenio de Sarauia [rúbrica]

En la ciudad de Mexico, jueves, a dos dias de el mes de abril de mil y seiscientos y quarenta y ocho años, estando /105/ estando en su audiencia de la mañana los señores inquisidores doctores, Don Francisco de Estrada y Escouedo mando traer a ella de las carceles secretas a Simon de Leon, y siendo presente, le fue dicho que si entendio la abjurazion que hizo en el auto de la fee.

Dixo que si, entendio.

Fuele dicho que para que mejor sepa y entienda la dicha abjuracion, se le tornara a leer, que este atento y la oyga, y haviendosele leydo,

Dixo que la hauia entendido, y se le aduirtio guardase lo que hauia abjurado, porque haciendo lo contrario, si torna a caer en al-

guna heregia, incurre en pena de relapso, y sin ninguna misericordia sera relajado al brazo seglar, y lo mesmo si no guarda lo contenido en su sentencia. E luego fue reciuido juramento en forma de el dicho Simon de Leon, so cargo de el qual prometio de decir verdad.

Preguntado si saue alguna cossa que deba decir de si o de otras personas que toque al descargo de su conciencia, o que se aya fecho o dicho en las carceles secretas de este Santo Officio contra la onrra, authoridad y secreto de el o sus ministros y custodia de los presos, o comunicaciones de carceles y auisos de vnos presos a otros, o personas de fuera, y si ellos lleba[n] o recaudos o papeles de dichos pressos para dar a alguien, y si el alcayde y sus ayudantes an vssado bien y fielmente sus officios,

Dixo que no saue nada de lo que la pregunta contiene, y que no lleba papeles ni recaudos, y que el /106/ alcayde y sus ayudantes an vsado bien sus officios. Fuele mandado debajo de el juramento que tiene fecho y so pena de excomunion mayor latae sententiae y de doscientos açotes, que tenga y guarde secreto de todo lo que con el a pasado sobre su negocio, y de lo que a visto, sauido, oydo y entendido, en qual quiera manera despues que esta en las carceles, y no lo reuele a persona alguna, ni debajo de ningun color. Y so las mesmas penas se le manda no pase por esta quadra de la Inquisicion, ni entre en ella, sin liçencia expressa de este tribunal. Y prometio cumplirlo assi, y lo firmo.

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Phelipe de Çabalça Amezqueta [rúbrica]

Y luego le fue entregado a Geronimo de el Castillo, alcayde [de] las carceles de penitencia, el qual se dio por entregado de el, y lo llebo consigo.

Passo ante mi:

Phelipe de Çabalça Amezqueta [rúbrica] /107/

En la ciudad de Mexico, viernes, a cinco dias de el mes de junio de mil y seiscientos y quarenta y ocho años, estando en su audiencia de la mañana los señores inquisidores Doctores Don Francisco de Estrada y Escouedo, Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca y Licenciado Don Bernaue de la Higuera y Amarilla, hauiendo visto la relacion de lo declarado por Juan de Correa, Sebastian y Fran-

cisco de el Castillo en tres dias de este presente mes y año, hauiendo echo inspeccion en la persona de Jorge Duarte, hijo de Duarte de Leon Xaramillo y hermano de Simon de Leon, de hauerle hallado vna señal en el hombro yzquierdo, en la mesma parte y lugar que a Antonia y Ana Nuñez, sus hermanas, y que la dicha señal es redonda de el tamaño de la vña de el dedo meñique, con cicatriz en la circunferencia, echa al parecer con instrumento cortante, y al parecer no muy reciente, y que puede ser que pase de quatro años el tiempo en que se le hizo, y que podria ser que por occultarse no le retajase en el prepucio, sino en aquella parte, y lo demas que contiene la dicha declaracion,

Dixeron que los dichos Juan de Correa, Sebastian y Francisco de el Castillo, cirujanos de este dicho Santo Officio, hagan inspeccion y caten al dicho Simon de Leon, reconciliado por este dicho Santo Officio en la parte /108/ y lugar donde fue hallada la dicha señal al dicho Jorge Duarte, y lo declaren debajo de juramento en este tribunal, haciendole ante todas cosas de vsar bien y fielmente el dicho su officio y de guardar secreto de lo que vieren y ante ellos pasare, y⁴⁰ que para ello sea mandado traer el dicho Simon de Leon a este tribunal de la carcel de penitencia donde esta, y assi lo mandaron y señalaron.

Testado: y lo señalaron.

[3 *rúbricas*]

Ante mi:

Phelipe de Çabalça Amezqueta [*rúbrica*]

Declaracion de los
cirujanos.

En la ciudad de Mexico, viernes, a cinco dias de el mes de junio de mil y seiscientos y quarenta y ocho años, estando en su audiencia de la tarde los señores inquisidores doctores, Don Francisco de Estrada y Escouedo mandaron [*sic*] entrar en ella a Juan de Correa y Sebastian del Castillo. Y siendo presentes, fue de ellos reciuido juramento en /109/ en forma deuida de derecho de que vsaran bien y fielmente sus officios de cirujanos de este Santo Officio, y de que guardaran secreto de todo lo que vieren y ante ellos passare. Y hauiendo mandado traer de las carceles de penitencia donde esta a Simon de Leon, reconciliado por este Santo Officio, y mandadole entrar en la sala de dicha audien-

⁴⁰ After y, *lo señalaron* is written and crossed out, and *ojo* appears in the margin.

cia, se les mando a los dichos Juan de Correa y Sebastian de el Castillo, que en presencia de mi, el presente notario y ayudante de el secreto, vean y caten al dicho Simon de Leon en el hombro yzquierdo si tiene alguna señal semejante a la que allaron en el mismo lugar a Jorge Duarte, y lo declaren debajo de el dicho juramento. Y haviendo visto y catado al dicho Simon de Leon, y mandadole salir de la dicha sala los dichos Juan de Correa y Sebastian del Castillo,

Dixeron que haviendo visto al dicho Simon de Leon en el hombro yzquierdo, le hallaron vna señal redonda con cicatriz en la circunferencia, quatro dedos mas arriba de el hombro izquierdo del tamaño de vna lenteja grande, y al parezer echa con instrumento cortante, y no de mucho tiempo, y que juzgaban ser de la calidad /110/ de las señales que tienen su hermano, Jorge Duarte, y sus hermanas, Antonia y Ana Nuñez, y que esta es la verdad, so cargo de el juramento que tienen fecho, y lo que alcançan segun su arte y a su leal sauer y entender. Y lo firmaron.

Sebastian del Castillo [rúbrica]

El Maestro Jhoan de Correa [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Phelipe de Çabalça Amezqueta [rúbrica]

Declaracion de Simon de Leon.

Y luego incontinenti el dicho señor inquisidor Doctor Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca mando entrar en dicha audiencia al dicho Simon de Leon, y de el fue reciuido juramento en forma deuida de derecho, so cargo de el qual prometio de decir verdad. Y preguntado al thenor de la declaracion de los dichos Juan de Correa y Sebastian del Castillo, cirujanos de este Santo Officio,

Dixo que no se acuerda quando ni quien le hizo la señal que le fue hallada en el hombro yzquierdo, que de lo que se acuerda es que /111/ que quando su padre, Duarte de Leon, señalo en aquella mesma parte a su hermana, Ana Nuñez, como dicho tiene en sus confesiones, que aquella mesma señal hauia echo a todos vosotros, diciendolo por sus hijos, y que esto es lo que puede decir y saue y la verdad, so cargo de el juramento que tiene fecho. Y se le aduirtio el secreto que debe guardar, y lo prometio, y firmo; conque fue mandado salir de la dicha audiencia.

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Ante mi:

Phelipe de Çabalça Amezqueta [rúbrica]

Ratificacion ante las per- En la çuad de Mexico, lunes, a ocho
sonas honestas. dias del mes de junio de mill y seiscientos
y quarenta y ocho años, estando en su audiencia de la tarde el señor
ynquisidor Don Bernabe de la Higuera y Amarilla, mando entrar en
ella a Simon de Leon. Y estando presentes por honestas y onestas
personas el Licenciado Diego de Moedano y padre Fray Thomas de
Salas, presbyteros, que tienen jurado el secreto, fue recebido juramento
en forma, so cargo del qual prometio de dezir verdad.

Fuele dicho que se le haze saber que el promotor fiscal deste
Santo Officio le presenta por testigo ad perpetuam rei memoriam,
y siendo necesario, en plenario juicio contra Duarte de Leon Xaramillo,
su padre, que este atento y se le leera su dicho, y si en el vuiere que
alterar, añadir [*sic*] o enmendar, lo haga de manera que en todo diga
verdad, y se afirme y ratifique en ella, porque lo que agora dixere,
parara perjui-/112/cio al dicho Duarte de Leon Xaramillo, su padre.
Y luego le fue leydo el dicho su dicho de suso. Y siendole leydo todo
de verbo ad verbum, y auiedo el dicho Simon de Leon dicho que lo
auia oydo y entendido,

Dixo que aquello era su dicho y el lo auia dicho segun se le auia
leydo, y estaba bien escrito y asentado, y no auia que alterar, añadir
[*sic*] ni enmendar, porque como estaba escrito era verdad. Y en ello
se afirmaba y afirmo, ratificaba y ratifico, y siendo necesario, lo dezia
de nueuo contra el dicho Duarte de Leon Xaramillo, su padre, y no
por odio, sino por descargo de su consciencia. Encargosele el secreto;
en forma prometiolo. Y lo firmo; conque fue mandado salir de la
audiencia.

Simon de Leon [*rúbrica*]

Ante my:

Alonso Garcia Palomo [*rúbrica*] /113/

Presentada en 26 de abril de
1649 años, ante los señores in-
quisidores Doctores Don Fran-
cisco de Estrada y Escouedo,
Don Juan [Juo] Saenz de
Mañozca y Licenciado Don
Bernau de la Higuera y Ama-
rilla, mandaron ynforme. He-
[roni]mo del Castillo.
[*rúbrica*]

Yllustrisimo sseñor:

Simon de Leon, preso en esta carsel de penitencia, digo que yo

sali en el avto de la fee que se selebro en la casa profesa de la Conpañia de Jesus, el año pasado de seisçientos y quarenta y ocho a los treinta de março, y en mi sentençia que se me leyo, saque sanbenito y carsel por vn año, el qual es ya cumplido.

A vuestra sseñoria yllustrisima pido y supplico se sirban de hazerme limosna de quitarme la dicha penitençia, que en ello reseuire bien y merced de la piadosa mano de vuestras sseñorias.

Simon de Leon [rúbrica]

Illustrisimo señor:

En conformidad del decreto de suso, sobre que ymforme serca de la pretension de Simon de Leon, digo que el susodicho a cumplido su penitençia, segun y como se le mando, de que me co[n]sta. *Vuestra señoria* probera lo que fuere seruydo. Mexico, y abril beinte y siete de mill y seisçientos y quarenta y nueve años.

Geronimo del Castillo [rúbrica] /114/

En ventisiete de abril de mill seisçienttos y quarenta y nueve años, estando en audiencia de la ttarde los señores inquisidores Doc-tores Don Francisco de Estrada y Escouedo, Don Juan [Juo.] Saenz de Manozca [sic] y Licenciado Don Bernaue de la Higuera y Amarilla, huiendo bisto lo pedido por Simon de Leon y el ynforme de Geronimo del Castillo, mandaron enttrar en ella a Simon de Leon, y puesto de rodillas, le mandaron quittar el sambenitto. Y le amonestaron no buelua a caer en el delicto que comettio. Y huiendolo enttendido, prometio guardar *nuestra santa* fe catolica; y con tantto fue mandado salir de l[a] audiencia; de que doy ffee.

Evgenio de Sarauia [rúbrica] /115/

Testimonio para Simon de Leon.

Yo, Eugenio de Sarauia, secretario de el Ssanto Officio de la Ynquisicion de esta Nueva España, doy fee y verdadero testimonio que en auto particular de la fee que celebro este dicho Ssanto Officio, en la yglesia de la cassa professa de la Compañia de Jesus de esta ciudad de Mexico, lunes, a treinta de marzo de el año passado de mil y seisçientos y quarenta y ocho, entre otros reos que salieron a el, salio Simon de Leon, vecino y natural de esta ciudad de Mexico, al qual se le leyo su sentençia, que es de el tenor siguiente:

Aqui la sentencia.

Y en cumplimiento de lo contenido en la dicha sentencia, se le dio testimonio de ella al dicho Simon de Leon, vecino y natural de esta ciudad de Mexico, hijo de Duarte de Leon Jaramillo, relaxado, y de Ysael Nuñez, reconciliada, de hedad de diez y siete años, de buen cuerpo, delgado, cauello negro, y de mandato de los dichos señores ynquisidores, di el presente, firmado de mi nombre, sellado con el sello menor de el Officio en Mexico, a veinte de junio de mil y seiscientos y cinquenta años. /116-24 [blank]/

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A NOTE ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF *THE FATAL EXTRAVAGANCE*

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Professor of English

In a previous article,¹ I contended that Aaron Hill is not likely to have been the sole author of *The Fatal Extravagance* but that Joseph Mitchell probably contributed about as much as the latter claimed in the Preface to the printed editions. One of my suggestions was that I. K. (the editor of the 1760 edition of *The Dramatic Works of Aaron Hill, Esq.*) and Benjamin Victor—who in 1760 and 1761, respectively, assigned the play entirely to Hill—"presumably received their information or misinformation from Cibber's *Lives*." As has been revealed by a careful comparison which I have since made, I. K. uses Cibber as his major source. He specifically cites *The Lives* several times, most of his biographical data are in that work, the order is nearly the same, and even the wording is often taken over; moreover, the material of I. K. which is not in Cibber consists chiefly of quotations from Hill and Pope with comments. Besides, a passage implies that I. K. was not personally acquainted or at least not closely associated with Hill: "In Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, many facts relative to the life of Mr. Hill are related by one who had ocular demonstration, or proof almost equal to it, of his transactions. Thus the poet is there described: . . ." (page x).. Likewise, I.K. could hardly have obtained authentic information concerning the authorship of *The Fatal Extravagance* from surviving members of Hill's family; for the wife had died in 1731, and, because Hill had not married till 1710, his children (Cibber and I. K. both say [in 1753 and 1760, respectively] that a son and three daughters were still living) were too young in 1720 to have first-hand knowledge as to whether he had written the drama entirely alone or whether he had merely advised and assisted Mitchell. Accordingly, the statement of I. K. that Hill was the sole author of *The Fatal Extravagance* does not seem to be based on authority independent of Cibber. A similar judgment is probably correct concerning Victor's bare statement. In short, neither I. K. nor Victor should be regarded as important evidence that the play was written solely by Hill.

¹ "The Authorship of *The Fatal Extravagance*," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, XIII (1945), 155-58.

CURRY COUNTY, OREGON: THE GEOGRAPHY OF AN ISOLATED COAST¹

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INTRODUCTION

The Curry County coastal region of southwestern Oregon is one of the most isolated sections of continental United States. Its handful of pioneers have struggled for years against odds of adverse topography and soils, wet and windy climate, and isolation from major market centers. Eking out a subsistence in timber-product industries, sheep raising, fishing, marginal mining, and forage agriculture, its inhabitants have traditionally resigned themselves to neglect at the hands of more populous sections of the state, and resented their lot. Sharing this feeling of neglect with Siskiyou County, California, and other isolated counties of northwestern California and southwestern Oregon, they went so far as seriously to propose secession from Oregon in 1941, joining the state of California, or leaguings with other isolated counties in the formation of a separate state.

In comparison with other counties in Oregon, Curry is larger than 14 of the 36 in the state; yet the total county valuation, according to the *Oregon Blue Book* of 1942, was under \$4,000,000, the lowest of any county in the state, and the total farm valuation, according to the 1940 census, was scarcely \$3,000,000. But in the last few years Curry County discovered an agricultural specialization in lily bulbs that in four years stepped up the total value of agricultural products from \$540,000 in 1940 to over \$2,000,000 in 1945.

The success story, whether of an individual or a region, always has a popular appeal. It will be the task of this paper to analyse the coastal strip of Curry County, tell the story of its struggles against environmental odds, stress its recent rise to prominence, and draw conclusions as to its future outlook.

¹ Originally read before the Social Science Section of the Northwest Scientific Association, Spokane, Washington, December 28, 1945.

THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Curry County is located on the extreme southwest coast of Oregon, bordering the state of California. Road map figures indicative of its isolation tell only part of the story. It is located on the picturesque but commercially none-too-practical Pacific Coast Highway, over 400 miles from San Francisco to the south and 360 miles from Portland to the north, the nearest major market outlets. Seventy-five miles to the east across the rugged Oregon Coast range and the Klamath plateau lies Medford, but no traffic ways as yet have conquered the rugged canyons of the lower Rogue River.

Physiographically it consists of narrow intermittent coastal plain and old beach terraces, interrupted by imposing headlands of basalt and older metamorphics, where the Oregon Coast range and the Klamath peneplane meet and merge. An interesting and significant feature of the region lies in the beach terraces, sandy, wave-cut, and variously eroded steps, sometimes several hundred yards wide, representing old fossil shore lines, uplifted at elevations of 40, 100, 220, 500, 1000, and 1500 feet. Most of these terraces are considered useless for agriculture, their main use being a ready-made series of level platforms along which the coast highway has been built. The hinterland is exceedingly rough and mountainous and is virtually untenanted.

Climatically the region represents the wetter phase of the Temperate Marine type of climate, with cool, damp winters and a short summer that may reach warm-dry conditions. Total rainfall is heavy. Along the immediate coast, Port Orford averages 67 inches, Gold Beach 75, and Brookings 70. Langlois, on the 500-foot terrace, receives more than 99 inches. During each of the winter months the stations average 10 or 11 inches, in July and August half an inch each month. The total, however, varies considerably; Port Orford has received as little as 44 inches and as much as 119. Highest temperatures in summer have reached 100 degrees F. at several stations. Minimum temperatures in winter have dropped as low as 19 degrees F. above zero. The growing season is long, averaging 238 days at Langlois and 286 at Port Orford. Growing-season data also show considerable variation. Brookings, for example, has had a frost-free season as short as 219 days and as long as 312; Port Orford's range is from 194 to 365. The general climatic conditions all along the coast, however, reveal heavy rainfall, mild temperatures, and vir-

tually a subtropical-length growing season, restricted somewhat by excessive cloudiness.

Under these conditions of topography, soil, and climate, the natural vegetation of Curry County, in the more exposed stretches, consists of coastal grasses, furze, wild hazel, bracken, and other brush forms. The protected back lands and better soil areas are wooded with small stands of Douglas Fir, Western Hemlock, Sitka Spruce, and the relatively rare Port Orford Cedar. Minor stands of Balsam Fir are also found. Curry County shares with Coos County, immediately to the north, the possession of important stands of the rare California Laurel or Oregon Myrtle, providing a basis for a small-scale industry devoted to the manufacture of Myrtlewood novelties.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

Although the coast was described and some place names were affixed by Captain George Vancouver in 1792, the first settlement at Port Orford did not take place until 1852. Throughout that year hundreds of miners bound for the Rogue River gold fields landed at Gold Beach on their way to the Josephine and Jackson county mines.

In 1855, four years before Oregon was admitted to the Union, the Oregon territorial legislature created Curry County from the southern extension of Coos County. During the succeeding years the Indians were brought under control, but with scarce gold resources many of the miners and traders left the country. Some remained, however, and took up the raising of livestock, worked in small lumber mills, or engaged in fishing around the mouth of the Rogue River at Gold Beach.

Population growth was slow. In the 1850's several hundred men and their families settled at three or four of the more favorable centers, true pioneers, subsisting mainly on the free goods of the land. By 1900 only 1,868 inhabitants were recorded in the census. By 1910 the figure was 2,044; ten years later 3,025; in 1930, 3,257 and, in the last census (1940), 4,301.

RECENT ADJUSTMENTS

Under the heading "Recent Adjustments" will be included the normal economic activities that engaged the people of Curry

County up to 1943. Most of the data were obtained by the present writer through field observations in 1944.

The leading interest of the region centered around the raising of livestock, particularly sheep. The raising of sheep is confined to hilly and logged-off land and to the coastal moors; these animals do not require supplementary feeding in this area and go through the winter, as a rule, in excellent condition. The mild cool and damp climate produces a long staple wool, similar to that of the Penine and Cheviot hills of England and southern Scotland, with the result that Curry County wool was in especial demand for army blankets and G. I. woolens during World War II.

Open range feeding and careless tending would imply that the sheep industry of Curry County is particularly free from problems. Such an assumption, however, is hardly correct. Climatic variations sometimes cause considerable loss on the range. A dispatch from Gold Beach on March 13, 1936, is illustrative:

Losses in Curry county lamb crop because of starvation and exposure may run as high as 70 per cent, R. M. Knox, county agent, said today after studying reports from ranchers. The dry autumn delayed grasses to such an extent that they were beginning to grow about the time the severe winter storms occurred and lambs which did not die from the snow were starved to death by lack of feed. Ewes did not have enough forage to produce nourishing milk, Knox said.

Every winter there is some loss of older ewes, especially among those which have not been rounded up for shearing and consequently have become weighted down with wet fleeces during the winter rains; but this loss is more than compensated for by the low-cost care normally received.

The sheep industry of the region is limited only by range conditions, with the result that an active reseeding program has been instituted. Burned and logged-off lands, in particular, have been heavily reseeded. Local ranchers continue the pioneer practice of burning brush and bracken whenever dry seasons permit, and have developed skill in burning understory beneath forest stands without materially damaging the trees. Normal carrying capacity for the county is between 25,000 and 30,000 head of sheep, although in 1936, because of the dry fall followed by a severe winter, as indicated by the above clipping, numbers were reduced to 15,000. Normal wool yields run 178,000 pounds, according to the 1940 census. With nearly a million acres suitable only for grazing, and

with the county taking back annually many tax-delinquent acres, additional plots of actual or potential range land available at values as low as 50c to \$1.00 an acre provide an opportunity for expansion of the sheep industry. The goal is 60,000 to 80,000 head of sheep, according to R. M. Knox, County Agent. Improved pastures are his hope, and he points out that in New Zealand, which has a similar climate and topography, the sheep-range carrying capacity has risen in recent years from one ewe per acre to five per acre through range improvement.

The lumber industry is minor in the county and is centered mainly at Port Orford. Much of the county is in National Forest and as such is subject to Federal cutting and fire-control measures. At present 165,406 acres of timber over 20 inches in diameter is classed as forest land and should remain in permanent forest. Much of this forest is merchantable either as pulp-wood or lumber and should be regulated on a sustained-yield basis. Myrtle groves, especially, should be utilized carefully, as this tree grows only here and in Coos County. (The only other known stands of this wood are in Palestine.) Port Orford Cedar is a rapidly diminishing resource that, likewise, should be restocked and cut on a sustained-yield basis.

Commercial salmon-fishing is centered around Gold Beach at the mouth of the Rogue River, although sport-fishing interests have been instrumental in restricting the commercial catch in recent years. A few miles south of Gold Beach, crabs, clams, and rock oysters are procured. Frequently a pattern of part-time fishing and part-time farming supplements both activities.

Tourism is a recent and promising activity. Highway improvement has encouraged tourists to stop at Port Orford, Gold Beach, and Brookings, for sport fishing, hunting, and summer camping.

Mining has had a long and varied history in the region. Both placer and quartz gold-mining have been significant since the first years of settlement in southwestern Oregon. Place names, such as Gold Basin Butte and Mineral Hill in the mountainous hinterland and Gold Beach on the coast, are indicative of this activity. Beach mining has been an industry of minor importance for many years, and in time may increase in significance. Gold, platinum, and chrome have been taken from the "black sands" of the coastal

beaches and the terraced slopes. Values assay high, but the problem of profitable separation remains. The technology of processing black sands commercially is at present being investigated by a number of interested geologists and mining engineers from the region. A rather unusual occurrence of graphite has been found in one long dyke near Brookings: pure amygdaloidal concentrations are abundantly scattered along the dyke and await a technological development for profitable extraction.

Field agriculture has normally been of minor importance. Three hundred and seventy-five farms were reported in 1940, with a total produce valuation of \$540,000. Only 104,332 acres were reported in farms that year, comprising 10.1 per cent of the total land area of the county. Corn, potatoes, and hay were the leading crops raised.

THE RENAISSANCE THROUGH BULBS

The new development that has revolutionized the agricultural industry of Curry County dates back to 1939, although tangible results were not forthcoming until 1943. Prior to the outbreak of World War II, over 25,000,000 lily bulbs were imported from Japan, with Holland and Bermuda also contributing. At that time American production was less than 1,500,000. With the coming of hostilities, both Japanese and Dutch sources were completely cut off, and Bermuda's supplies were sharply reduced, so that a high-priced market for domestic Easter lily bulbs was provided. Curry County, with sandy loam soils and a unique combination of climatic factors on the old beach terraces between the 100-foot and 500-foot levels, was found to be ideal for the production of bulbs.

The story starts with Sydney Croft, a migrant farmer from Michigan, who through failing health and fortunes left Michigan and came to Oregon in 1939. Familiar with bulb culture in Michigan, he put in an experimental acreage near the community of Brookings. Croft succeeded in producing good bulbs within two or three years, but without an established market name he was forced to sell bulbs for five cents that three years later were to bring a dollar. Even in those days, however, he encouraged several of his neighbors to grow bulbs in the hope of establishing a reputation for the Oregon bulbs. Croft died shortly after pioneering the industry, and today in his memory the leading bulb from Oregon

is known as the Croft, although a modification, the Kenyon-Davis, is becoming equally well-known on the market.

As a result of these early efforts to produce a high-quality bulb, plus the sudden demand as a result of the war, the renaissance of Curry County came about. In 1944 stories that rivaled the tales of Paul Bunyan were being told in the streets of Brookings. One grower reported the sale of 6000 dollars' worth of Croft bulbs from a crop produced on a corner lot. Land values rose sharply. One newcomer bought a single acre in 1942 for \$1000. In 1944 he was offered \$10,000 and refused. In 1944 over 50,000 bulblets and 5000 commercials were sold from another small acreage, valued at \$9,000. In 1945 actual transactions involving sales of small acreages of lily land at \$2,000 per acre were recorded.

The upshot of the bulb development up to the end of 1945—with information supplied by personal correspondence with G. H. Young, cashier of the Curry County Bank of Gold Beach, R. M. Knox, Curry County Agent, and Dr. Frank P. McWhorter, Plant Pathologist, Oregon Experiment Station, Corvallis—presents the following statistical picture. There are now nearly 1000 lily growers in Curry County, and the number of farms in the county has doubled since the 1940 census. Bank deposits have increased more than 300 per cent, and profits from an acre of ground range from \$10,000 to unverified yields as high as \$20,000. Curry County is suddenly proud to be a political constituent of the state of Oregon, and Oregon is equally proud to claim Curry County. Total bulb sales during the fall of 1945 approximated one and one-half million dollars.

But what of the future? Is this industry merely a Cinderella dream that will vanish with a return of Japanese competition? Opinions differ. The end of the war will undoubtedly have a profound effect on the further development of the industry. The exceedingly high prices have come mainly from the sale of seed stock. It is fully expected that prices will decline with increased supplies. With a return of Japanese stock, eastern raisers will undoubtedly seek large numbers of the cheaper bulbs. The Curry County coastal terraces, however, are particularly suited to the growing of commercial Easter lily stock, and the superior quality of the bulbs developed here makes them worth three times the value of imported

Japanese stock under normal conditions. Hence it is fully expected that the future of the industry will remain promising.

It should be pointed out, however, that the big boom is over. Land is now high-priced, and competition from imported bulbs will be felt within a year. Because two years of meticulous care are required in their production, it is expected that few new growers will enter the field after this year. A new agricultural specialization, however, has been achieved in Curry county—one that promises to remain of importance to the region.

CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions may be drawn from this analysis of recent developments in Curry County. (1) The lily industry, although reaching its greatest boom in 1945, can be expected to remain the largest single agricultural specialization of the region. (2) The outlook for expansion of the sheep industry through range improvement is encouraging. (3) Timber activities, based on sustained-yield management in Douglas Fir, pulp species, Port Orford Cedar, and Myrtle should continue and should become a permanent source of wealth to the region. (4) Commercial fishing will remain a strong part-time activity, and sport-fishing will increase in importance as the region becomes better known. (5) Gold-mining will continue in minor importance, but new mineral industries, based on improved technology in handling the black sands and possibly the commercial development of methods of extraction of the graphite ores, should open new opportunities for wealth in the region. (6) Tourism offers increased promise: many people are attracted by sport-fishing and hunting opportunities as well as by the isolated wilderness of coast, river country, and mountain highlands, which are becoming increasingly available through highway development.

June, 1946

RESEARCH STUDIES OF THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

THIS ISSUE IS DEVOTED TO THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
1946

Editor for the Pacific Sociological Society: Carl E. Dent

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Entered as second-class matter December 26, 1936, at the post office at Pullman, Washington, under Act of August 24, 1912.

Research Studies of the State College of Washington is published in Pullman, Washington, by the State College of Washington. It is issued four times a year—in March, June, September, and December.

PURPOSE. *Research Studies* is established to provide a medium of publication for articles of research in the pure sciences and arts; it is limited to material making a contribution to knowledge. Its pages are open to the faculty and the advanced students of the State College of Washington.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS. *Research Studies* will be mailed postpaid to subscribers for three dollars a year. Subscriptions are payable in advance to *Research Studies*, Correspondence Office, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington, U. S. A.

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RESEARCH STUDIES of the STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

Volume XIV

June, 1946

Number 2

PRESENT TRENDS IN RACE RELATIONS¹

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Wherever races come in contact, the processes of conflict and accommodation play their opposing roles—now one, then the other taking the lead. In this country, Negro-white relations might be called America's No. 1 social problem. It involves many millions of people, it tends to substitute passion for reason, it is of long standing, and there has been less progress toward its reduction than in any other major problem in our present-day culture.

A flat objective statement of our race problem might be as follows: to the Negro, it is a matter of finding a more tolerable way of life; to the white, it is a matter of keeping the Negro in his place. This is a bald, unpleasant statement of the white aim, but for most whites, North or South, it appears to be true. The Northerner criticizes the "un-American" treatment of Negroes in the South, but anti-Negro sentiment in the North springs up wherever migration brings Negroes in large numbers, though the discrimination is not so extreme as in the South. For example, there is no serious proposal in cities like New York and Detroit to prevent Negroes from voting. In the North, Negroes are more likely to assert their rights. They know that public opinion does not sanction direct and violent attacks upon them by whites, and this encourages them to test out the tenets of freedom in the new community. In fact, their "standing up for their rights" often arouses such antagonism by whites that the Negro cause is retarded rather than advanced.

The situation is truly a dilemma to both races, though in very different ways. The white man is uncomfortably convinced that things cannot go on indefinitely as they are—that something must be done. But just *what* must be done, and *when*, he does not know. Since his is the superior position in the subordination-superordination relationship, the matter is not very pressing from his point of view. The Negro, on the other hand, is in the subordinate posi-

¹ Presidential address.

tion, which is always galling, and he is inclined to want action *now*. He also does not know exactly what can be done, or when, but he knows some things that he *wants* done, and he wants them badly. His rising determination is reflected in the stiffening of the white man's attitude, which, in turn, arouses the Negro still further, the result being threats by the whites—on and on in the process that leads to violence.

The core of conflict is frustration, and Negroes are chronically frustrated. Their constant rejection by whites, no matter what their cultural attainments, breeds bitterness; the attempt to keep them to the lowest rungs of the economic ladder brings discouragement. The more aggressive feel trapped and see no way out except through violence. At times they catch a glimmer of light in the darkness of frustration, but not for long. At the close of the First World War, Negroes in the United States hoped for a new birth of freedom. They had taken an active part in the struggle to "make the world safe for democracy," and they felt sure they would benefit by the idealism engendered during the war. But they were soon disillusioned. They found that the democracy for which the world was to be made safe was white democracy, not colored. This was a bitter lesson to learn, but it was learned. The large majority of Negroes were too poorly educated, too weak economically, and too poorly organized to grasp their initial advantage and press for further gains. Social compulsion eased them back into their traditional level of subordination, with little to show for their fleeting dream of a better life.

Then came the Second World War, with a second call to save the world from intolerance and to bring freedom to mankind everywhere. The Four Freedoms presumably were to be applied universally. The Negro was skeptical, but again he responded to the call. But the Navy's ban against Negroes (except as messmen) and the Army's insistence on segregated training camps made Negro inductions very slow at first. The whites paid a high price for this delay; it meant that their sons had to do most of the dying until provision could be made for colored boys to do their share of it. Though much has been written of the discrimination against Negroes in our armed services, it cannot be recounted here. Suffice it to say that the Navy's exclusion policy finally cracked to such an extent that by mid-1945 there were thousands of colored sailors

and a few colored officers in the Navy. Several Liberty ships even had mixed crews. In the Army, approximately 750,000 Negroes were inducted, but about 70 per cent of them were in service rather than combat units—another situation that cost a disproportionate number of white lives. There were segregation and discrimination in the Army both at home and abroad. Negroes in uniform were still “Jim Crowed” in the South. Some were beaten up by white civilian police, and some were killed. In England the people were so shocked at the American army’s discrimination against its own Negro troops stationed there that the situation was protested on the floor of the House of Lords, although the debate was stopped in the interests of allied co-operation. Yet the picture had its bright spots, too, for, before the war was over, the strict segregation by units had broken down, and eleven divisions in the European theater had mixed companies of Negroes and whites, with good results. One of the most surprising facts of all was that in this country, in the deep South, Negro and white officer candidates lived and worked together in the same camp without segregation.

In the labor world, the story was much the same. At first Negroes were shut out from most of the war industries, or given only the least skilled jobs. But the pressure for greater war production, combined with the determination of Negroes to share in the high wages being paid, finally brought results. The threatened “March on Washington,” organized by A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who stood fast in spite of severe pressure from the Administration, finally resulted in the famous Executive Order No. 8802, forbidding any discrimination because of “race, creed, color, or national origin” in any defense industry *and in the government departments*, this latter point being included on Randolph’s insistence. The Fair Employment Practices Committee was created to enforce this order, and—though its work was hampered by insufficient appropriations, by strong opposition from Southern congressmen, and in other ways—it became the greatest single force in giving the Negro his share in the war industries. Before the war was over, 1,500,000 Negroes were in war work, some of them, in spite of continued opposition of white persons to upgrading, in more skilled and better-paid jobs than they ever had before. Negro employment in general rose a million above any previous figure. How much of this can be main-

tained in peacetime is still uncertain, but Negroes are afraid that they will have to bear a disproportionate share of whatever unemployment there is.

Between the First and Second World Wars, certain trends in race relations were slowly forming, their direction becoming more definite during and since the war just ended. The basic change, underlying all trends, is the changed attitudes of Negroes. It is certain that they will not again be pushed back "into their place," for they are much better educated, much better organized, and much more determined than they were at the end of the First World War. The experiences of nearly a million young Negro servicemen, taken from poor environment into a new world where they were well fed and well clothed, are hardly conducive to a docile return to what one writer calls semi-serfdom. Their training, their travel, and their sense of worth as partners in the great task they shared have changed them permanently. The white man is facing a new Negro, who is ready to "play rough" if necessary.

When a subordinate group seeks a way out of its unhappy position, it must first decide what moves are most strategic. Barring revolution by force, what peaceful methods are likely to bring gains without arousing enough opposition to offset them? One is education, which is the best possible defense against exploitation. The trend in Negro education is definitely forward, and there are many indications that it will be accelerated. In 1865 only one Negro in twenty could read; now eighteen in twenty can do so. But that is mere literacy. Far more important is the fact that, in the two decades from 1920 to 1940, the number of Negroes enrolled in high schools increased nearly tenfold, from 2.6 to 25.5 per thousand Negroes. Also the percentage attending college has risen sharply. Here, then, is one of the most strategic lines of advance. Education has a wide appeal in this country, and even those whites who want to keep the Negro in his place can scarcely oppose, with good grace, a common school education for Negro children. But they can and do make education inadequate in certain sections by controlling the purse strings of the public schools. In 1940, in nine Southern states, the average annual expenditure per white child was \$58.69—per Negro child, \$18.82, or less than one-third as much as for whites. In Mississippi, it was only one-seventh as much per colored as per white child.

But the trend in Negro education is definitely forward. Test cases of Negroes seeking admission to Southern state universities have brought legal decisions that states which refuse such admission must provide comparable facilities for Negroes, and though the elastic term "comparable institutions" can be stretched almost beyond recognition, frequent court testing keeps the public aware of Negro determination to achieve equal educational opportunity. Also the status of Negro teachers is rising. In North Carolina and in the cities of Louisville and New Orleans, Negro teachers now receive the same pay as white teachers. In New York and Chicago, Negro teachers are not all limited to purely Negro sections, and Negro scholars have been appointed to the faculties of several well-known universities.

Another fundamental trend is that of better economic opportunity for Negroes. The kind of job a man can get and hold determines his income, which sets the life pattern for him and his dependents. The present trend in employment is distinctly favorable to Negroes. Swept from an all-time low in the depression to an all-time high in war industry, they are determined not to give up their gains. At the end of the war, the attempt to make the recommendations of the Fair Employment Practices Committee permanent was thwarted. But no filibuster can kill an idea that has been established in the minds of many people, as is shown by the facts that a number of states, and even cities, have passed state or municipal fair-employment-practices laws and that others are preparing to do so.

The labor union has been an important factor in greater occupational opportunity for Negroes. Until recent years, Negroes have not been welcomed in most unions, but during the war they were accepted as never before, sometimes only as "second-class" members, but usually as full members. At present the equalitarian unions (chiefly C.I.O.) outnumber the discriminatory unions (chiefly A.F.L.). In several unions, leaders even threatened white members (striking in protest to the upgrading of some Negro members) with loss of membership and employment, with the outcome vindicating the Negroes. Such protection is a great boon to the Negro, who, fearful of the "last hired, first fired" pattern, knows that his fate is peculiarly tied up with a full-employment policy.

Another economic opportunity, doubly precious to a subordin-

ate group because of its prestige value, is that of government work. Without tracing the vicissitudes of Negroes in civil service, it is highly significant that by the end of March, 1944, Negroes constituted 12 per cent of all persons in Federal service, which exceeds their 10 per cent of the total population. Government work has always been considered honorific, and for a rejected race it is indeed a prized symbol of advancement.

A third important trend is in the area of political rights, where opinion is mixed as to what is wise policy. Some argue that, until Negroes have the ballot, they will be powerless to achieve their other rights; others point out that in this area aggression is particularly dangerous, for pressure produces even greater counterpressure. The Southern white man is far more fearful of giving the Negro the ballot than of giving him a better education and a better job. He has not forgotten the excesses of Reconstruction days, which still provide him a basis for rationalization. Furthermore, equal franchise rights come pretty close to an admission of equality, an unbearable thought to most Southerners. Nevertheless, considerable headway is being made by Negroes, both in voting and in holding elective office. The Supreme Court's decision in the Texas "white primary" case, the abolition of the poll tax in Georgia, and the willingness of Negroes to risk going to the polls have resulted in more Negroes voting than at any previous time since Reconstruction days. But what of those still living in communities that recognize no change? Will the thousands of servicemen returning to such communities quietly eat the sour fruit of frustration, or will they put their training into play in direct action? It *could* happen here. Its prevention calls for the best leadership, white and colored.

A fourth trend is the phenomenal increase in organizations for the study and alleviation of race tensions. Many of these were brought into being through the fear of race riots. The *Directory of Agencies in Race Relations* shows that 33 states have appointed governors' commissions on race relations and over 267 communities have set up official or unofficial race-relations committees. There are well over a hundred national organizations giving major or minor attention to race problems. Though some of the official commissions are superficial in their work, sometimes deliberately evading fundamental issues, others have made definite headway and have shared experiences with other communities.

Finally—not co-ordinate with the others but rather involving them all—the trend in Negro thinking is away from gradualism to that of immediate and fundamental reform, covering the whole gamut of discrimination. Not all Negroes agree on this, and most of those who do have little disposition to resort to violence. But the demand is not mere wishful thinking; it is strong, militant, and growing. The war psychology—get what you want by power—made the old philosophy of “inching along” seem silly. The process of gradualism, well established before the war, was swept away. Total change was in the air, the product of total war. The demands of Java and India were examples. Why should American Negroes demand less? Why ask for *gains* when one can demand *equality*? Such a policy (on which Negro leadership is split) is dynamic and exciting and can easily lead to riots, for, in the South, Negro aggressiveness is usually interpreted as “rebellion” and dealt with accordingly, even by officers of the law. One outstanding Negro leader thinks that already a strong reaction among the whites is setting in against the rising militancy of the Negro.

The whites also have been divided by the new attitudes of Negroes. The South had felt that it was making progress in its relations with its Negroes, and so it was. But the war upset this slow process, with its rough-shod haste and its large movements of people. Thousands of Negroes temporarily got out from under their galling status in the South, and thousands of Northern white youths trained in Southern camps came face to face with the all-out segregation pattern for the first time and were shocked thereby. Incidents fed prejudice, and the old terms “North” and “South” were revived in the charges and countercharges that were flung. There is a strange inconsistency in such recriminations, for the pattern of segregation is national, not just Southern, though it naturally varies in kind and degree. For example, Negroes are excluded from many hotels in the liberal city of New York. Even the church accepts the pattern in many ways; church colleges deny Negroes admission, and church hospitals bar Negro doctors and nurses. Segregation is in reality a symbol to which the white clings desperately—a symbol of white superiority and Negro inferiority. Moderate Negro leaders frankly recognize the impossibility of abolishing all forms of segregation at a stroke, without resulting violence that would make the Reconstruction days seem mild. Ad-

mitting that at present some things *cannot* be done, they wish to concentrate on vital things that *can* be done, in order to achieve the former through long-range educational measures, supplemented by occasional doses of legal pressure given at strategic times and places. But the more radical leaders are willing to take greater risks.

In conclusion, from the point of view of moderate leaders, it would seem that the fields of education and employment are the Negro's most strategic areas of advancement, the ones in which the greatest net gains can be made for a given amount of effort. This may seem inconsistent, for the well-educated Negro with a good job becomes a more serious economic competitor, and competition causes fear, which in turn causes conflict. Such direct competition cannot be sidestepped, but it can be weakened by increased alternative opportunities for all, so that the outcome in any given instance is not so desperately important to the competitors. As the fear of insecurity is reduced, we may expect at least some reduction in prejudice. The cumulative effect of even small gains can be considerable over a period of time. And because no social scientist of repute claims to know the "solution" of the race problem, we may be permitted a modicum of satisfaction in every step that tends to reduce it.

AN OUTLINE OF JAPANESE WAR PROPAGANDA TO OCCUPIED AREAS

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This paper is limited to a summary of Japanese war propaganda directed to the peoples of Far Eastern occupied areas. This limitation excludes much equally important material in the way of broadcasts to America and the outside world, as well as Japanese domestic propaganda. It is likewise impossible here to deal with special types of appeal aimed at the various Far Eastern peoples or to show changes in propaganda themes at different stages of the war. It is, therefore, a description of only the broader themes which characterized Japanese propaganda to occupied areas during the greater part of the war. This description is based, for the most part, on an analysis of short-wave radio broadcasts from Tokyo and puppet stations. It should be stated, perhaps, that Japan, by virtue of her control of conquered territories, was able to use many other media as well.¹

Japan's propaganda as above delineated falls under three major heads: (I) the certainty of Japanese victory, (II) the campaign of hate against the enemy, and (III) the desirability of a Japanese victory.

I. CERTAINTY OF JAPANESE VICTORY

This theme was implemented by representing (a) Japan's arms as invincible and always victorious, (b) the home front as strong and united, (c) the conquered peoples as solidly supporting Japan, (d) the Axis alliance as advantageous to Japan, and (e) Japan's enemies as weak and disunited.

Japan's invincibility.—The theme of military success and strength was a natural one to follow the early victories of Japanese arms. It was simply the propaganda of power and success. Its aim was to make resistance among the conquered peoples seem hopeless and to encourage collaboration. There appeared to be a further motive, however, for pursuing this line. This motive was the necessity to maintain the Japanese tradition of invincibility, backed by the myth of the divinity of the Emperor.

Japan's early victories made it possible to support this line for a time without much distortion of fact, but, as the fortunes of

¹ For a description of these, see the author's "The Japanization of Far Eastern Occupied Areas", *Pacific Affairs*, XVII (1944), 168-80.

war turned against them, the Japanese propagandists were forced to employ ever-greater ingenuity in its support. The methods used were for the most part simple and familiar ones, but stubbornly pursued at times to a point where their effectiveness must have been greatly impaired.

Even in the face of continued reverses, Japan virtually never admitted to the Asiatic peoples that she had suffered a defeat. Her reverses were made not only into strategic withdrawals, but into actual victories. Japan's strategy was always infallible. The enemy had been fooled, had been lured into a well-laid trap, and was annihilated. This accomplished, certain bases were no longer useful and could be reported abandoned according to plan or merely no longer mentioned. The failure of the Japanese fleet to give battle, even when Allied naval forces moved into Japan's vital sea areas, was explained on this basis. It was pursuing a "subtle strategic plan" to lure the enemy naval forces into a trap, calmly biding its time in "purposive obscurity," ready at the chosen moment to send the American navy "to the bottom at a single blow" (1/10/45)². This claim was being made to the very end, even while the Japanese fleet was suffering at the hands of American planes and submarines the tremendous losses that reduced it by V-J day from eighty-four major naval units (carriers, battleships, and cruisers) to twenty-one afloat, of which only five were navigable.

Enemy losses were always exaggerated to the point where a victory of attrition could be claimed regardless of "paltry and insignificant" gains in territory on the "remote perimeter" of the Japanese defense area. The American offensive was always deprecated as "desperate counterattacks" or a futile "guerilla operation" (11/28/44). On one conspicuous occasion, Japan actually invented a series of battles which never took place at all. That was in November, 1943, when in eight days she claimed the sinking off Bougainville Island of 56 American ships, the damaging of 78 more, and the destruction of 117 planes. All this was said to be the work of 17 Japanese planes, of which 4 were lost. By the end of two weeks, the total destruction of the American fleet was proclaimed as the greatest war results since Pearl Harbor, and the Emperor issued a rescript honoring the navy (11/8/43).

² This and subsequent quotations and paraphrases are from transcripts of Tokyo and other Japanese-controlled radio stations on the dates specified.

Some defeats were turned into victories by the use of the Japanese suicide complex. Virtually all planes lost in battle were reported as having made suicidal dives into their objectives rather than as having been beaten in battle. The complete destruction of the Japanese force on Attu Island was likewise represented as the result of a voluntary act of mass suicide like that of the *kamikase* pilots. The garrison did not want reinforcements or even ammunition sent to it. The men had decided on a suicidal stand as a mark of their supreme devotion to the Emperor. All Japan stood in awe of this great demonstration of spiritual strength. It showed how impotent was the enemy's material power in comparison with the Japanese spirit (6/2/43).

The strength and unity of the home front—Production achievements, full participation of the peoples in all wartime activities, and the absence of strikes or protests within Japan were cited as proof of the unity of purpose of the Japanese people. As the war reached its climax, this factor took on new significance. The people were described as calm and determined in the face of indiscriminate bombing and as firmly resolved to oppose *en masse* any attempted invasion of their homeland. Japan's economic weakness and inferior productive power were never mentioned to the conquered peoples.

Asiatic peoples united and co-operating with Japan.—Much news and comment were calculated to show that the peoples of the entire "Coprosperity Sphere" were united and enthusiastic in supporting the Japanese war. Statements of puppet leaders, resolutions of puppet assemblies and Japanese-sponsored organizations, and news purporting to show prosperity under Japanese supervision or burning loyalty to the cause or acts of co-operation with occupying forces were standard parts of every day's broadcasts. Significantly, perhaps, these "news" items were in many instances not beamed to the country or particular area from which they were alleged to have come and where the real facts might be known, but to other occupied territories. The aim appeared to be to create the impression in each area that all others were collaborating and reaping the benefits therefrom. This scheme was to create a sense of isolation on the part of any recalcitrants and to induce them to get into line.

At the same time, the contribution of this line to the conviction of certain victory lay in the implication that, strong and invincible

as Japan herself was, she also had the support of the millions of other Asiatics.

Axis united.—A further theme bearing on certainty of victory lay in Japan's alliance with the Axis powers. This line varied in usefulness with the military fortunes of those powers in the European war, and its emphasis, therefore, declined markedly as the war progressed.

The enemy weak and disunited.—A corollary theme to the declaration of Japanese strength was the claim of Allied weakness and disunity. The United Nations were constantly pictured as militarily weak, as disunited and suffering from internal disaffection, and their soldiers described as inferior to Japan's. Statements in the American press or domestic radio referring to shortages, rationing, labor conflicts, and antiwar movements, such as the abortive "Peace Now" organization, were seized upon and greatly magnified by Tokyo. Criticisms of Roosevelt or other officials, liberally supplied by parts of the American press, were made evidence of impending revolt. The internal troubles of free China, from inflation to civil strife, were cited as evidence of imminent collapse of the Chungking regime. Every possible opportunity was taken to show conflict between the Allies. When the lack of American aid to China was mentioned, Japan condemned America for not helping her allies. When American men and materials began to arrive in larger quantities, Chungking was represented as alarmed at the growing American control of the area. British troubles in India were part of the daily fare of Tokyo's radio audiences.

II. THE "HATE THE ENEMY" THEME

This theme is a part of all war propaganda. In implementing it, the Japanese proceeded on several fundamental assumptions regarding the actual or latent attitudes of the people of Asia and the Pacific. Two basic ones were (a) that the people were anti-foreign because of the nature of their previous contacts with Westerners and (b) that they were racially conscious and could be led to identify themselves with other colored races, even as widely divergent as American Negroes, British Indians, and the Japanese.

Western imperialism.—Some facts of history were on their side. The policies and practices of the colonial powers—England, the Netherlands, and France—have engendered a great deal more antagonism among colonial peoples than is generally believed. The same is true of the activities of American interests in those areas which were open to us. The people were not allowed to forget the

extraterritorial rights held in Chinese ports by the Western powers, including the United States, and the flaunting of Chinese sovereignty which these concessions represented. Nor did they forget the assumptions of white supremacy so evident in the behavior of foreign nationals there. Several of the countries with long-suppressed nationalist ambitions saw in the early Allied defeats a chance to realize their dreams, and the Japanese fostered those illusions by promising, and finally granting, a kind of independence for Burma, the Philippines, and others, contrasting their benevolence in this respect with the slowness of the United States in granting Philippine independence and with the British refusal of freedom for India and Burma.

Allied war aims were attacked, and war guilt was placed squarely on the shoulders of President Roosevelt and other Allied leaders, whose policies of imperialism and aggression had goaded Japan and all East Asia into this war for liberation from enslavement and exploitation. The Atlantic Charter and other statements of our war aims were ridiculed as propaganda. The real aims, said Tokyo, were to regain colonial empires and re-establish white supremacy. The lack of any promise to end the colonial system in Asia was stressed, and Churchill's forthright statement that he did not propose to preside over the dissolution of the British Empire was a clincher for their arguments. Also condemned was Allied disregard for the rights of neutrals and small nations evidenced by pressure on Spain, Turkey, Finland, and Ireland.

Racism in Japanese propaganda.—The racial identity of Japanese with other Orientals was given much emphasis, and the slogans "Asia for the Asiatics" and "Down with white imperialism" became rallying cries for a racial war against the Western powers. The inconsistency between this and their Axis alliance seemed to bother the Tokyo propagandists not a whit.

Proceeding with their campaign of hate, the Japanese kept up a steady stream of racial propaganda. The American treatment of colored races was kept alive by reports of our treatment of Negroes, Chinese, and Japanese-Americans. Every discriminatory practice in the armed forces, defense industries, and social life was seized upon. Statements of Congressmen or of the American press in regard to poll taxes, antilynching laws, the Fair Employment Practice Committee, and so forth, attributed to Madrid, Buenos Aires, or Lisbon sources, were quick to appear in Tokyo's output. American immigration and citizenship laws barring Chinese as well as Japanese

from admission and naturalization were described. Alien land laws and housing segregation were cited. The "White Australia" policy was attacked, and racial discrimination in India and other colonial areas was described.

By these methods did Japan attempt to stir up hatred of her enemies among those peoples whose support and loyalty she hoped to maintain.

III. THE DESIRABILITY OF A JAPANESE VICTORY

In contrast with the malevolence of their enemies, the Japanese consistently represented themselves as the liberators of Asia from the white race, or from "Anglo-American imperialism." Occupied areas were constantly told of Japan's benevolent war aims, of her plans for a new order of justice, national independence, racial equality, and co-prosperity in Greater East Asia. In support of these claims, Japan pointed to a series of significant steps taken toward these benevolent ends. She granted independence to the Philippines, Burma, and parts of Indo-China and Indonesia. She renounced extraterritorial rights in China before similar action was taken by us and turned over the Shanghai concessions to the puppet Chinese government. She fostered a "Free Indian government" under Subhas Chandra Bose with plans for the liberation of India.

The "Greater East Asia Charter," promulgated by Japan at a great area-wide conference in Tokyo, embodied virtually every idealistic principle contained in the Atlantic Charter, and more besides.

"To America and Britain," said Tokyo radio, "East Asia may be a convenient colonial territory for aggression and exploitation, but to us it is our home, our native land. . . . To East Asia this war is a war of racial awakening. . . . China is already being restored to the Chinese; Thailand has regained its old territories. . . . Burma and the Philippines have declared their independence, while India has arisen to fight for freedom. . . . We will defend East Asia from the aggression of evil powers, guard it from their exploitation, and lead it on the road to prosperity" (Oct., 1943).

Thus, in contrast with her enemies, Japan claimed not only clear-cut aims, but actual achievements. If America were sincere, reasoned Tokyo, she would cease fighting Japan, for Japan's achievements embodied everything that America claimed to be fighting for.

EVACUATION OF JAPANESE FROM THE PACIFIC COAST: CANADIAN AND AMERICAN CONTRASTS

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The existence of wide differences in the patterns of Occidental-Oriental race relations between Canada and the United States is well expressed in the following quotation from the *Toronto Saturday Night*:

The entirely different attitude taken by Canada and the United States on the subject of Japanese citizens compels one to wonder whether one of the two countries is insanely wrong, or whether America possesses some secret for their Oriental citizens which Canada lacks. The United States finds at least part of its Japanese citizens loyal, reliable, and useful, and knows how to distinguish these from others. Canada adopts a view that none of its Japanese population can be loyal, reliable, or useful, and makes no effort to distinguish among them.¹

Although Japanese immigration to the United States began in 1861 and to Canada in 1877, it was not until the last decade of the nineteenth century that the Japanese migrated to either country in appreciable numbers.

The story of Oriental immigration and agitation is well known to most residents of the Pacific Coast. Following a period of contacts, immigration increased, bringing with it economic competition and later some forms of mutual adjustment. Robert E. Park summarized the process twenty years ago in his race relations cycle of contact, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation.² Though this formula may not be universal and irreversible (as claimed at the time of its original presentation), it portrays an accurate generalization of Occidental-Oriental race relations on the Pacific Coast.

CITIZENSHIP

Within this framework, leading to possible assimilation of persons of Japanese ancestry, Canada and the United States developed along different, though parallel, lines. In the United States, American-born children of Japanese ancestry were given citizenship without regard to the nationality of their parents. First-generation Japanese except war veterans were rigidly excluded from

¹ June 16, 1945.

² "Our Racial Frontier on the Pacific," *Survey Graphic*, LVI (1926), 192-96.

American citizenship.³ Once granted American citizenship, however, persons of Japanese ancestry had all the political rights of citizenship, including voting, serving on juries, election to public office, and service in the armed forces. Canada, following a somewhat different principle, recognized the Canadian-born Nisei as limited citizens, but accorded this same limited type of citizenship to some 3,159 Issei who had become naturalized. Like other Orientals, the 14,119 Canadian-born Nisei, as well as the naturalized Canadians, have been denied many rights of citizenship, such as voting, serving in the armed forces, membership on school boards, and jury service.

RESTRICTION

In at least two other respects, the Canadian policy toward those of Japanese ancestry before Pearl Harbor differed from that followed in the United States. In the United States, informal and nongovernmental methods have been used to restrict the areas of employment for Orientals, whereas in the Dominion of Canada informal restrictions have been supplemented by formal government orders barring their employment by government contractors. Likewise, Japanese are excluded from the professions of law and pharmacy and limited in fishing and lumbering.⁴ On the other hand, Canada permitted Japanese immigration after all migration from Japan to the United States was prohibited by the United States. In actuality, although this meant that only 150 Japanese could enter the Dominion yearly, it still recognized friendly relations between Canada and Japan.

Though the general patterns of Occidental-Oriental race relations in the two countries, as expressed in terms of the Japanese, were only slightly divergent before Pearl Harbor, the events of the last four years have shown marked differentiation in the status, treatment, and assimilation of the Nisei and their parents. In the areas of legal position, disposal of property, education, service in the armed forces, resettlement, and general assimilation, there has been marked contrast in the handling of the problem.

³In 1931 about two hundred Japanese veterans of the First World War agitated for franchise and were successful.

⁴Charles Young and Helen Reid, *The Japanese Canadian* (Toronto, 1938), p. 130.

LEGALITY OF EVACUATION

For example, in the United States, the legality of both the evacuation and the detention of American-born citizens of Japanese ancestry has been subjected to question, and the Supreme Court has avoided a definitive answer on the latter. In Canada, the power of the British Columbia Security Commission and the Department of Labour to keep second-generation Nisei in relocation centres has been generally unchallenged, and the chief legal issue has been whether those possessing Canadian citizenship can be deported. The Supreme Court of Canada ruled on February 20, 1946, that the Dominion had such power. In the United States, the issue of deportation is not so sharply drawn, because the procedures for re-registration of intentions regarding repatriation and renunciation of such declarations are more flexible.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Likewise, property rights of both Issei and Nisei generations have been much better protected in the United States. To be sure, substantial losses to the evacuees have resulted from the sale of land, houses, businesses, and equipment at the time of evacuation, from the sacrifice of the 1942 crops, from the exploitation of many individuals, from deterioration of property, from difficulties with storage facilities in a war area, and from unemployment in the relocation centers. The United States government did not, however, sell the property of the evacuees without either their consent or at least knowledge.

In Canada, the Custodian of Evacuee Property was granted permission to sell property directly to the buyer without the consent of the owner or even any contact with him. Farms of Japanese in the Fraser Valley were expropriated, with compensation, for the purpose of postwar settlement of veterans⁵ and, incidentally, with the removal of a thousand Japanese families from British Columbia. Early in 1944, the Custodian began to sell household furniture, cooking utensils, crockery, store stocks, canned goods, and personal possessions which were then in storage. The proceeds were credited to the former owners.

In 1943, the Japanese took legal action to block the sale of their property. The case was argued in April and May, 1944, and judg-

⁵ *Report on the Administration of Japanese Affairs in Canada*, Department of Labour, Ottawa (August, 1944).

ment was reserved. Property outside the restricted area of British Columbia could be held without discrimination.

The evacuees in both the Interior Housing Centres (relocation camps) and work projects have been particularly bitter about the forced liquidation of their property at a time when they were not present and at prices which were a fraction of their value. One Canadian-born Nisei veteran of the British Army charged the Custodian with selling property at less than one-fourth its value in order to make British Columbia a "white man's country." Many Nisei believed that they would not have enough assets to resettle elsewhere.

As La Violette has so clearly pointed out,⁶ prior to the property liquidation, it might have been possible for the Canadian government to allay the distrust which had developed in the evacuation process. When "they learned of their farms, residential and business properties being sold and their chattels auctioned, all of their accumulated grievances were summed up in one conclusion: the purpose of the evacuation is to move us out of the province [British Columbia] permanently."

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

No area of discrimination was more keenly felt by the Canadian Nisei than the failure of either the provincial or federal governments to provide adequate educational facilities within the relocation centres. Elementary schools were opened in makeshift quarters and with almost wholly inexperienced Nisei teachers. No provisions for high school training were made by the government, although in 1944 volunteer high school teachers were sent to the Interior Housing Centres by Anglican and United Churches of Canada. At Tashme, instruction was given in the elementary school after 4:00 P.M. under difficult conditions. In spite of the fact that all the Nisei at Tashme in August, 1945, were scheduled to be "repatriated" to Japan, attendance at this nonvocational school was over ninety students. That ninety Nisei barred from living in Canada would choose Occidental education in preference to the money to be made from work opportunities is some measure of the power of the assimilation process.

⁶Forrest E. La Violette, "Two Years of Japanese Evacuation in Canada," *Far Eastern Survey*, XII (1943), p. 97

In the United States, the relocation centers provided elementary and high school education in accredited institutions with teachers who were trained, even though not always adequately. In one center, a junior college affiliated with the University of California was established. Educational and vocational guidance was provided, and by 1944 over four thousand Nisei had been relocated in some 534 institutions of higher learning. A year later, fewer than a hundred evacuees in Canada had been relocated in college and business colleges in the Dominion.

ARMED SERVICE

Another important factor in the program of the assimilation of the second-generation Japanese has been the attitude of the armed forces toward the Nisei. In the United States, although voluntary enlistments and selective service were suspended for almost a year following March, 1942, there were always Nisei in the American armed forces. During the last two years of the war, servicemen of Japanese ancestry were recruited for both segregated units and as individuals to be integrated with others in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. In addition, the Army and the War Relocation Authority made use of white Army officers as spokesmen for the loyalty of the Nisei to communities opposed to the resettlement of the Japanese. The contribution of the second generation to the war effort received a wide and favorable press both in pictures and in news and editorials. In Canada, Nisei in the armed forces were limited to 150, accepted in February, 1945, at the request of England and the other Dominions. A number of Canadian Nisei served in the British and American armies.

ASSIMILATION

The most fundamental difference in the treatment of evacuees in the two countries lies in the divergent attitudes of the War Relocation Authority and the British Columbia Security Commission and the Department of Labour toward the assimilation of people of Japanese ancestry. The War Relocation Authority had an avowed policy of giving the best jobs and the best employment and educational opportunities to those individuals and families who demonstrated a willingness to make their future in the United States. At least, those who were suspect of not being pro-American were likely to be discriminated against in the award of "best" jobs within the center. In Canada, the reverse was true. At Tashme,

British Columbia, a prerequisite for a teaching position in the relocation-center elementary school was the signing of repatriation papers to "return" to Japan. Likewise, those wishing to cast their lot with Japan were given first preference in lumber and highway jobs in British Columbia. Only those who would permanently leave the province were encouraged to retain their citizenship.

RESETTLEMENT

As the result of its program of reabsorption of the Japanese into American life, the War Relocation Authority could report by December 31, 1945, that 42.3 per cent of the evacuees had returned to the West Coast, another 47.2 per cent had relocated in other sections of the United States or were in the armed forces, 6.5 per cent were at Tule Lake awaiting either resettlement or repatriation, and the remaining 3.5 per cent had either been repatriated to Japan or were in internment camps awaiting transportation.⁷ Corresponding figures for Canada for November 21, 1945, showed that 37 per cent of the Japanese were in Interior Housing Centres or awaiting repatriation to Japan; 24 per cent were living in eastern British Columbia, 21 per cent in the Prairie Provinces, and 18 per cent in eastern Canada.⁸ Later figures increased the number of repatriates to 10,347 out of 24,078 persons of Japanese ancestry in the Dominion.⁹

PREJUDICE

In both countries, prejudice against the Japanese made it difficult for the authorized governmental agencies to deal with the problem in a constructive manner. Comparison of public-opinion polls shows a difference of opinion, with 80 per cent of the Canadians and only 29 per cent of the Americans favoring return of the Issei to Japan after the war. The right of the Nisei to remain in the land of their birth was conceded in both countries.¹⁰

CONCLUSION

In both countries, there are now pressure groups working both on behalf of and against the Nisei. Nevertheless, the Canadian-Japanese consider the American program of assimilation superior.

⁷ *Semi-Annual Reports July 1 to December 31, 1945*, War Relocation Authority, Washington, D. C.

⁸ *Hansard*, mimeographed report, November 21, 1945, p. 2406.

⁹ *The Sun*, Vancouver, February 20, 1946.

¹⁰ Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, February 16, 1944, and American Institute of Public Opinion, December 30, 1942

They correctly regard the War Relocation Authority as a powerful rallying point for the friends of the second generation.

In Canada, the future of the Nisei will have to be worked out in line with Canadian political and social institutional structure. Perhaps Canadians, as La Violette points out,¹¹ are not so sensitive to constitutional rights as are citizens of the United States. More probably, they are inclined to consider the Nisei a "British Columbia problem," much as the Americans of 1924 considered the Japanese a "California problem." Though the prospects of a constructive long-time solution of the problem are better in the United States, it would be well to recognize that a number of diverse groups in Canada are working together in regional "Consultative Committees" on behalf of the Nisei. The prospects of the third and fourth generations can better be evaluated when more fundamental research has been done on Nisei-Caucasian relationships. Likewise, the causal factors in the differing race patterns described in this paper call for further investigation.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

THE RURAL REHABILITATION PROGRAM AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE¹

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The major Federal activity for farm family rehabilitation has proved to be what is called the "standard rural rehabilitation" program. This paper is directed to an analysis of the standard program as an instrument of social change. The same sources are utilized which were available for a more comprehensive study recently completed.²

BACKGROUND

The program has been administered by the Farm Security Administration and its predecessor, the Resettlement Administration, building upon activities started nationally under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in 1934. The basic elements of the program are credit plus supervision. This *combination of credit and supervision* into an integrated program constitutes a significant social invention to be used as an instrument of social change. Eligibility requirements for a family to receive rehabilitation aid have varied. At first, a family had to be on or at the border of relief. Later the upper limit was inability to get adequate credit from other sources for farm operation. There have also been other criteria, such as amount of land resources, farm experience, industry, and capacity.

Scope.— By September 30, 1943, one out of every nine farm operators in the nation—695,000—had been a standard borrower at some time under the Resettlement Administration or the F.S.A. The two western F.S.A. regions combined, which accounted for 40,400 of these, also had one out of nine of all their farmers represented on the standard program. Families other than borrowers also participated in services provided by the agency primarily for borrowers. Borrowers are dispersed throughout all except a dozen counties of the nation, but the concentration varies.

SOCIAL CHANGES SOUGHT

The goals indicate the social changes the program has been intended to bring about. There have been goals for improving the

¹ A condensation.

² Circulated for review purposes under the title *Ten Years of Rural Rehabilitation in the United States*, U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics (dittoed, Washington, D C., May, 1945).

welfare of the individual families aided by the program. There have also been broader objectives, external to individual families.

Family goals.—For individual families, the foremost aim in the early years, when the program was striving to help families already on or close to the relief rolls, was to relieve their suffering and misery and to restore them to permanent self-support. This self-support was to be at some level “consistent with American standards.” Later the major goals also included to secure a physically healthful and socially desirable level of living, to acquire the skills and abilities to manage one’s own farm and home successfully and independently, to achieve security, and to obtain land resources sufficient for an economic unit of the family-farm type. Wartime influences crystallized two more aims for the families: to become full participants in a democratic way of life and to secure maximum employment of available family labor in the production necessary for the nation’s war effort.

Rehabilitation, the ultimate objective for each family, could be defined as the attainment of this cluster of interrelated goals (the temporary wartime segment of the one last stated being disregarded).

Wider goals.—One of the objectives external to the individual families—first stated when the program originated in a relief setting—was “to save the taxpayers’ money.” Prominent broader goals have been to preserve, reinforce, and perpetuate the family-type farm, to foster farming as a “way of life” rather than as a purely commercial enterprise, and to encourage land conservation. Keeping the maximum number of people on the land was advocated during the earliest days of the program but was modified and almost reversed by the later aim of achieving full utilization of manpower in the low-income farm population in production for war purposes. The latter reversal was also a repudiation of an early proposal to aid farm-family rehabilitation by a barter and production-for-use economy. Discouraging undirected migration of farm people was particularly tied to the problems of man-land adjustment in the areas hit by drought during the ’30’s. The goal of the resettlement program to bring about a better adjustment of population and land resources also had the support of the standard program. The over-all goal of making available to all Americans

the opportunities of democracy so that they might have a stake in it became more explicit under wartime pressures.

Terms through which most of these goals have been expressed more concretely and through which they are probably better understood by the families and agency officials directly concerned are diversified "live at home" farming, a certain number of quarts of food canned per person, a weather-tight and screened house, satisfactory water supply, two or more sources of cash farm income, and ability to meet current operating expenses without annual loans.

REHABILITATION TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES

A variety of tools and techniques has been developed or adapted to aid standard rehabilitation borrowers to achieve these goals. Credit is the tool which gives the program agency a degree of *control* over the individual family. The granting of credit is conditional upon the family's agreement to carry out the plans worked out in conjunction with the supervisors.

The loans are rather small, although they have varied in size from time to time and among the regions and individual borrowers. For instance, the initial loan for borrowers active in 1943 averaged \$667. During the five years that the average borrower had been with the program, this had been supplemented to total \$1,310. Repayment schedules vary with the useful life of the collateral and the borrower's ability to repay, but presently are for a maximum of five years. Efforts are made to get the family into a position where they do not have to borrow each year to meet current farm and family expenses.

Advisory assistance, or supervision, is the technique for teaching improved farm and home practices. Both group and individual methods of instruction are followed. Periodic visits are made to the farm and home. A farm-and-home plan is developed jointly by family and supervisor. This plan is a working guide to the farmer and the supervisor. This planning is ideally regarded as a continuous process. To complement the farm-and-home plan, the family keeps a record of receipts, expenditures, production, and inventory items, which is summarized annually to analyze the year's operations and progress. Bank accounts jointly in the name of the supervisor and the borrower are sometimes used. A supervisor occupies several roles: not only that of farm-and-home-management adviser, but also those of family case worker, group organizer, and banker.

Case loads have usually been heavier than are regarded as desirable.³

Supervision serves to co-ordinate and unify all the other tools and techniques as applied to meet the problems of each family. These others, in addition to credit, at times have included debt adjustment, tenure improvement, grants, group services for the provision of facilities (such as machinery if the circumstances of the family do not call for individual ownership), co-operative associations for a wide variety of purposes (such as marketing or providing veterinary care), group health services for the provision of medical, dental, and hospital care, environmental sanitation, neighborhood action groups for discussion of mutual problems and ways of solving them, special types of loans (such as for 4-H Club activity), and specialized measures in limited areas (such as the Negro community program).

CHANGES ACHIEVED

Measuring changes. —Analysis of the progress made in using these tools and techniques to achieve the goals involves some methodological problems in measurement, many of which could not be solved satisfactorily for the present study. A first problem is that of defining the content of goals in such a way that quantitative measurement of progress is possible. Some rather definite standards of food, clothing, housing, and health have been established by the administrative agency which could be used as criteria for the goal of obtaining a physically healthful level of living. Included are specified quantities and varieties of foods, enough clothing for health,⁴ a weather-tight, screened house, and sufficient beds and bedding for not more than two persons to a bed, and a sanitary toilet. On the other hand, all that is involved in becoming a full participant in a democratic way of life has not been spelled out so measurably. Thus quantitative measurement has been possible to a much greater extent for some goals than for others.

A second problem arises out of the lack of any validated single measure of the progress toward the cluster of goals which is defined as constituting rehabilitation. Research is needed on this matter of

³ F.S.A. set 125 per rural rehabilitation supervisor and 200 per home supervisor as desirable for efficient supervision.

⁴ Having clothing of a kind that will enable the children to attend school and the family to participate in community affairs is associated with the goal of a socially desirable level of living.

indices. For example, repayment of the loan in full might perhaps be accepted at first as a good indication of progress, but reflection will bring the conviction that every dollar lent might be repaid and not a family rehabilitated.

A third problem involves setting up "controls" so as to differentiate the effects of the program activities in forwarding rehabilitation from other effects. It is possible, for instance, to adjust for changes in the price level, but many other influences are much less subject to being "held constant."

Still another problem rests in the incompleteness of the data which are available for analysis of change. Deficiencies in this respect cannot be overcome to any great extent for past years. Many of the data available for analysis of individual family progress apply only to active borrowers. Little is known about those who paid up or were dropped out of the active category without completely repaying their loans. In many important respects, measuring change after acceptance is impossible on a widespread basis because the "before acceptance" situation is unknown. Information on many significant "after acceptance" changes is highly localized in time and space.

It is assumed that rehabilitation progress of individual families may be measured in terms of the rate and extent of adoption or acquisition of the practices, behavior patterns, attitudes, and material possessions which make up the content of rehabilitation goals. Progress can be measured much more adequately at present for some family goals than for others.

Results.—Available evidence makes it clear that substantial progress has been made by many families aided directly by the rehabilitation program, even though there have been little testing of the persistence of this progress after their leaving the program and no carefully validated criteria by means of which it can be said that a given percentage of families have advanced a certain distance along the road to rehabilitation. Progress probably has not been equal with respect to all of the family goals.

Only a few illustrations of the available measures of family progress are permitted here. By December, 1945, 45 per cent of the borrowers ever receiving standard loans had paid up in full; 29 per cent had not yet paid up but were no longer considered "active" in the program. The F.S.A. report for families active in 1941 indi-

cated that on the average, as compared with the year before acceptance, they had increased the fruit and vegetables canned for family use 114 per cent (up to 297 quarts), had increased the production of meat and poultry for home use by 94 per cent (to 488 pounds), had increased milk production for home use by 64 per cent (to 472 gallons), and had doubled the value of food produced for home use (up to \$327). Gains toward a physically healthful level of living have been among the most striking, but comparison with the various dietary standards indicates the goals have not yet been fully attained.⁵

During 1941, the husbands and wives of about three-fourths of the "active" families participated in community activities, including church. Every available report shows that the average borrower has been able to increase gross and net cash and total income, working capital and net worth. Borrowers active in 1943 operated farms averaging 157 acres compared with 108 acres the year before coming into the program. An improvement in status resulted for those who shifted up the agricultural ladder from croppers or farm laborers. Although a "before acceptance" check is not available, an increase in security and stability is indicated by land-tenure arrangements for borrowers active in 1941.

The changes in the practices, behavior patterns, attitudes, and material possessions which are suggested by these few illustrations have meaning for more than the individual families concerned. Some of them add up to progress toward achieving some of the broader goals for agriculture, rural society, and the general welfare of the nation. Thus the fact that these "high-risk" families have been paying back their loans has worked in the direction of saving the taxpayer money, if it is assumed that during the depression years they would have otherwise been aided by some form of public assistance at some acceptable level of adequacy. Better land-use practices and diversified farming have contributed to the goal of land conservation. During the war years, these families have made contributions, significant in the aggregate, to utilize better their labor to increase food production. The very existence of the program and its policies and aids probably had some stabilizing effects

⁵ 1943 *Farm Production for Home Use by Active Standard RR Borrowers Who Farmed in 1942 and 1943*, Farm Security Administration Release No. 2, 1943 Family Progress Report, April 18, 1944.

on farm population, provided support to the family-farm, and bulwarked the idea of farming as a way of life.

In addition to the changes which have been directly sought in the rehabilitation program, there has been a whole series of other changes which have been but little investigated. For example, the ways of doing and living which standard borrowers have been encouraged to follow have "spilled over" to affect neighboring farms and families.

THE REHABILITATION PROCESS

This brief analysis can only suggest the social significance of what might be termed the "rehabilitation process," that process whereby a family achieves the cluster of interrelated goals defined as constituting rehabilitation. Because of limits of space, I cannot here do more than make a categorical statement that the speed of the process is influenced by (a) family characteristics and resources, (b) rehabilitation aids, (c) the culture (especially as expressed by attitudes, social values, class structure, social institutions, and social and economic facilities) within which the family lives, and (d) more or less impersonal forces outside the control of the family or the agency, such as depression or natural calamities. Understanding of this process and of the principles in effectively applying the tools and techniques may find some use in a world concerned with improving the social welfare of lower-income families and in meeting problems of postwar reconstruction.

WARTIME TRENDS IN THE POPULATION OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

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Since the latter part of 1940—in a period of approximately five years—profound changes have occurred in the population of the state of Washington. Most of the changes can be traced either directly or indirectly to the war. To be sure, no part of the country has escaped the impact of the war; nevertheless, it can be said that few states have experienced such extraordinary population changes as the state of Washington.

Perhaps the most significant trend in population during the war period has been the unprecedented migration to the western part of the United States. Between April 1, 1940, and July 1, 1945, the three Pacific Coast states alone gained 2,384,000 people.¹

Chart 1 portrays the marked changes in the geographic distribution of the population for the entire United States between April 1, 1940, and July 1, 1945. An examination of the data for individual states clearly reflects both the volume and the pattern of population growth and redistribution during the war. Twenty states and the District of Columbia increased in population, and twenty-eight states decreased. Of the twenty states that increased in population, only twelve showed a rate of more than 5.0 per cent, and only seven had a rate of more than 15.0 per cent. Washington is included among the seven states that had a population growth of more than 15.0 per cent. Nevada reported the greatest proportionate increase, with 45.0 per cent. It must be remembered, of course, that Nevada had only 110,247 people in 1940. The 1945 population was 159,804. California was second with 27.7 per cent, Arizona third with 26.2 per cent, Florida fourth with 25.7 per cent, and Washington fifth with 20.3 per cent.

On a numerical basis, California acquired the largest population increment—almost 2,000,000 people. Washington's increase was over 350,000 between April 1, 1940, and July 1, 1945.²

¹Unless otherwise indicated, the data in this paper include resident civilians as well as members of the armed forces stationed in a particular area.

²The present writer estimates that the maximal increment was considerably over 400,000. This peak occurred in the early part of 1945, after which for a period of several months a pronounced out-migration trend took place.

RECENT TRENDS FOR TOWNS AND CITIES OF WASHINGTON

Recent population trends have been characterized by a heavy migration to towns and cities at the expense of rural areas. In the state of Washington, many large and small cities have experienced spectacular increases in population. An examination of Chart 2 will reveal exactly what the trends in population have been for Washington's 223 chartered and incorporated towns and cities between April 1, 1940, and February 1, 1945.³

Generally the towns and cities located in the Puget Sound Basin have evidenced the greatest population growth. For example, Seattle, the largest Pacific Coast city north of San Francisco, has shown an increase in population from 368,302 in 1940 to approximately 470,000 in February, 1945. The corresponding figures for other Puget Sound cities are as follows: Tacoma, 109,408 and 139,000; Bremerton, 15,134 and 72,000; Renton 4,488 and 9,000; Port Orchard, 1,566 and 3,400; Poulsbo, 639 and 2,000; Oak Harbor, 376 and 1,200; Milton, 671 and 1,222. Significant increases also occurred in the Vancouver area (Vancouver is directly across the Columbia River from Portland, Oregon), the Spokane area, the Pasco-Kennewick area, and the Ephrata-Moses Lake area. The city of Vancouver had a population of 18,788 in 1940; by 1945 it had grown to 39,500. Spokane's population increased from 122,001 in 1940 to 144,000 in 1945. The corresponding figures for Pasco were 3,913 and 6,000 and for Kennewick 1,918 and 5,500. Ephrata showed a growth from 951 in 1940 to 1,873 in 1945, and Moses Lake, from 326 to 900.

It is important in this connection that part of the phenomenal growth of the corporate city of Bremerton has been due to large accessions of territory. On December 31, 1943, Bremerton virtually doubled its area by annexing 1,021.6 acres of land. These new accessions included eight public housing projects inhabited by more than 19,000 people. Renton and Seattle also expanded territorially between April 1, 1940, and February 1, 1945.

In addition to the growth of the cities and towns of the state,

³The population data presented in the following pages are estimates computed by the Washington State Census Board, of which the present writer is Chairman. The date, February 1, 1945, was determined by state statute (Chap 231, Laws 1945). This series of population estimates is being utilized as the main basis for apportioning state funds to the towns and cities during the current biennium. Approximately \$30,000,000 will be disbursed in this manner.

POPULATION TRENDS*
UNITED STATES: APRIL 1, 1940 TO JULY 1, 1945

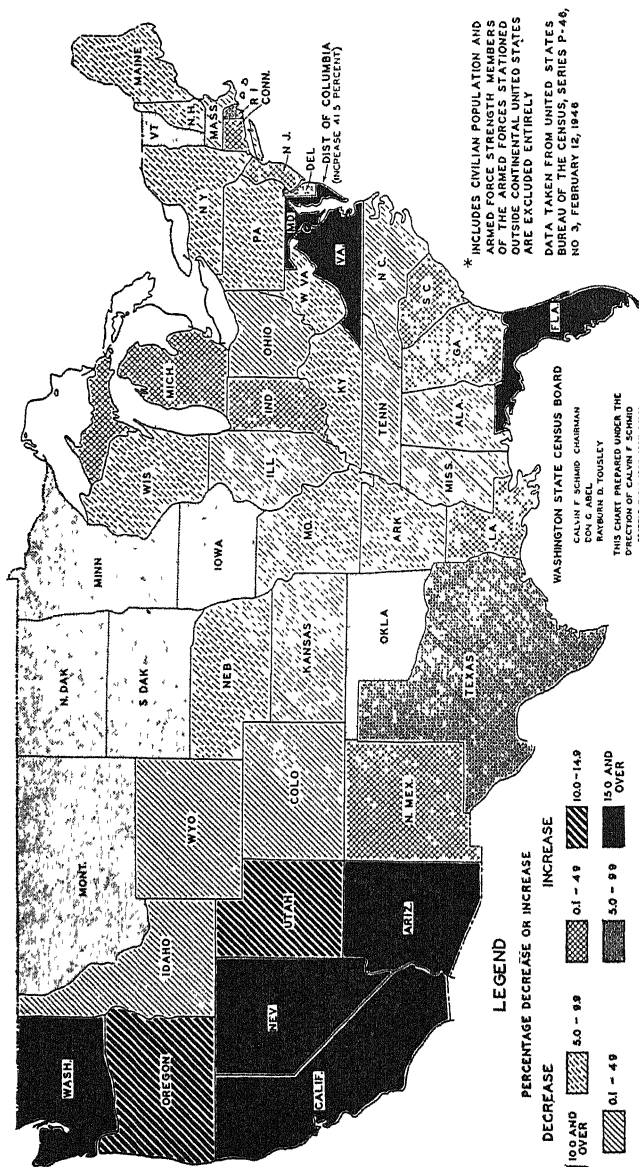


CHART 2

there have been large increments of population in the unincorporated areas contiguous to the war-industry centers and military establishments. For example, on February 1, 1945, the Federal war housing projects directly outside the city limits of Vancouver comprised 10,569 family dwelling units and 4,986 dormitory units, with an estimated population of more than 39,607. Similarly, there have been large increases in population contiguous to or in the vicinity of such cities as Port Orchard, Kennewick, Pasco, Bremerton, Kirkland, Seattle, Spokane, and Tacoma.

FACTORS IN THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

The factors which have been responsible for the extraordinary growth of the towns and cities in the state of Washington can be grouped under three main headings: (a) natural increase, (b) industrial, and (c) military.

In recent years the birth rate has shown a marked increase in the state of Washington as well as in the country as a whole. The annual number of births during the 1930's in the state of Washington averaged about 23,000 as compared to 44,368 in 1943, 44,522 in 1944, and 44,997 in 1945. From January 1, 1940, to December 31, 1944, 179,141 births and 104,083 deaths were recorded. During this five-year period, the natural increase—the excess of births over deaths—was 75,058. By the end of 1945, this number had increased to 98,163.

Two important factors in the recent rise in the birth rate in the state of Washington have been the great increase in the number of marriages and the influx of thousands of migrants from other parts of the country. The number of marriages in King County, for example, jumped from 5,410 in 1939 to 13,068 in 1942, to 11,617 in 1943, 11,332 in 1944, and 12,614 in 1945. An increase in the marriage rate is invariably followed by an increase in the birth rate. The in-migrants have contributed a significant share to the number of births, not merely because of a numerical increase in population, but also because of being a highly reproductive group in terms of their age and sex composition.

The unprecedented expansion of industry in the state since the latter part of 1940 has perhaps been the most important factor in the recent growth of population. Washington has produced ships, barges and smaller boats, aircraft, lumber and various kinds of wood products, metals (particularly aluminum and magnesium), food, machinery, clothing, munitions, and armaments.

Perhaps the best-known war plants in the state of Washington were the Boeing Aircraft Company in the Seattle area, the Kaiser Company, Incorporated, in Vancouver, and the Hanford Engineering Works near Pasco, where materials for the atomic bomb were produced. Other large and well-known plants included the Puget Sound Navy Yard at Bremerton, the Todd-Pacific Shipbuilding Corporation in Seattle and Tacoma, Associated Shipbuilders in Seattle, and the Reynolds Aluminum Plant in Vancouver. In these plants alone, approximately 200,000 workers were employed at one time. The major industrial factors that have affected the growth of towns and cities in the state of Washington are indicated on Chart 2.

On February 1, 1945, there were more than 124,000 members of the armed forces stationed in the state of Washington. Although exact figures are not available, the size of the military personnel was far in excess of this number in 1942 and 1943. The strategic importance of the state in the Second World War is attested by the size and number of military establishments and ports of embarkation. In this connection, we must consider the location of the state in relation to (1) the remainder of the nation, (2) Alaska, (3) Japan, (4) Siberia, and (5) other parts of Asia.

An examination of Chart 2 will convey some of the implications of a heavy concentration of military personnel on the growth of population in certain localities. For example, Fort Lewis and Camp Murray, near Tacoma; Sand Point Air Base, Fort Lawton, the Naval Hospital, army depots, embarkation facilities, and many smaller establishments, in Seattle; and Geiger Field, Felts Field, Fort George Wright, the Spokane Air Depot, and the Naval Supply Depot, in the Spokane area—these have been important factors in the recent growth of the respective cities. It must be remembered, of course, that in addition to the purely military personnel at these establishments, there are thousands of civilian employees, many of whom are recent migrants. These civilian workers and their families, as well as the families of many army and navy personnel, had to be absorbed by the surrounding communities. Many smaller communities—such as Ephrata, Soap Lake, Moses Lake, and Oak Harbor—have been swamped by the influx of population resulting from the establishment of military bases in their vicinity. Other cities which have experienced large increments of population as a consequence of the expansion of military facilities include Pasco, Kennewick, Walla Walla, Port Townsend, Port Angeles, Bremerton, Olympia, Auburn, and Vancouver.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT AMONG MINORITY GROUPS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

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This research is an extension of an earlier effort to test the general relevance of a sociology of social control to various types of data.¹ The article is conceptually designed in terms of a four-factor schema: deviation, means of control, differential power, and forms of control. Though exhaustive analysis would encompass all four factors, more detailed exploitation of the data here has been confined to the first three. The data consist of the felony convictions for 1938 in Los Angeles County.

The hypothesis of the study is phrased in terms of a changing relationship between deviation and control reactions, the latter in this particular instance being measurable reactions of police, judges, prosecutors, and probation officers. It is submitted for testing that, within the limits of certain control situations, sentencing bears a fixed relationship to the degree of deviation from statutory norms. Beyond these ascertainable limits the definition of the situation shifts to one in which control reactions are determined by symbols of struggle for power and status. It is more significantly recognized for these data that such symbols may be dynamically intrusive and may, therefore, restructure situations involving minimal deviations, such deviations being *putative* or spurious.

Criminal deviation of the white and minority groups was estimated by several measures. One device was an arrest-felony conviction ratio, the number of arrests on felony charges in Los Angeles County and City being divided by the number of felony convictions. The ratios in rank order were as follows: Negroes, 7.7; Filipinos, 5.7; Mexicans, 5.3; Chinese and Japanese, 3.7; white (including Jewish), 2.7. These ratios were based upon felony arrests for Los Angeles City and County. Compilation of arrests made in smaller municipalities would raise the ratios, but there is little reason to believe that the differences would be modified. On the whole, the high arrest rates of the minorities should not be regarded as objective measures of criminality; they are much better taken as indicating differences in the amount of putative deviation. They bear out observational data that police tend to arrest members of minority groups in wholesale "dragnet" fashion.

¹ Edwin M. Lemert, "The Grand Jury as an Agency of Social Control," *American Sociological Review*, X (1945), 751-58

No verifiable data were available for checking differential actions to prosecute white and minority groups following complaints or arrests. Verbal opinions of complaint deputies were to the effect that two opposed tendencies operate, with a greater inclination to prosecute in some minority cases and less inclination or actual possibility of prosecution in others.

Felony convictions were computed as crude rates and then corrected for age and sex distribution. Crude rates for the whites and three large minorities disclose Negroes to be highest with 403 per 100,000 population, Mexicans next with 174, and Jewish third with 128, very close to white gentiles, who had a rate of 124. Adjustments for age and sex operate in favor of the Mexican group and slightly in disfavor of the Negro, with Jewish remaining relatively unchanged. The respective male felony rates per 100,000 population ages 18 to 39 are as follows: Negro, 2306; Mexican, 843; white, 716.

Recidivism was computed by classifying the large minorities for three specified crimes into a no-record group, those with a juvenile or misdemeanor record, and those with a prior-felony record. Differences in percentages in the three categories from one crime to another were not consistent differences. However, a count of the prior felonies revealed that the white recidivists had a much higher average number than Negro or Mexican.

Though the data seem somewhat inconclusive as to real differences in the criminality of white and minority populations, the sociologically important fact for the objectives of this research is that the socially visible deviation of the latter is much greater. In the effective control situations, the number of minority criminals appears out of proportion to numbers in their respective populations. Arguments that many Mexicans and Jews in the community are not so designated in statistical records in no way compromise the results of the study, chiefly because it is set up as a sociology of social control.

The court reactions to white and minority-group criminals were summarized in tables on probation and sentences,² with the factor of recidivism held constant by use of the above threefold classification in terms of record. Five crimes were separately analysed, with average and median sentences computed for fifteen sets of data. Average sentences were lower for whites than for either the Negro or Mexican

² These tables were included in the paper as read at the Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society, but are omitted here because of limited space.

groups in all but three sets of data; in these three, whites had higher averages than one of two minorities in two instances, higher than both in one instance. The Mexicans occupied an intermediate position in all but two sets of data, both in the Auto Theft group. Median differences in sentences were much smaller, with whites having slightly higher medians in four sets of data. For Burglary Second Degree, the average sentences received were as follows: No-record group—Negroes 7.68 months, Mexicans 4.59 months, whites 3.55 months; Minor Record Group—Negroes 16.93 months, Mexicans 14.79 months, whites 7.53 months, Prior-felony group—Negroes 39.06 months, Mexicans 37.7 months, whites 16.52 months. The sample included 243 cases, of which about one-half were white. It is significant to note that differences between the averages of the white and the minority groups increase with progression from the no-record to the prior-felony-record group. The greatest discrepancies between average and median sentences (not shown here) occur in the Negro group, which suggests that differences tend to arise from extremely long sentences in upper deciles. Low averages for whites in the no-record group grow out of higher incidence of cases granted probation.

The general differences noted above and illustrated with figures for Burglary Second Degree held most consistently for two property crimes and Violation of the State Narcotics Act. In cases of Assault with Deadly Weapon and of Rape, the Court was inclined to considerable leniency towards both Negroes and Mexicans. This was not objectively apparent in sentences for Assault with Deadly Weapon but became evident through a reading of the case records, in which the minority cases seemed to be far more serious and more brutal than white cases. In the cases of Rape leniency was objectively manifest in the generous granting of probation to Negroes and Mexicans; Negroes actually received probation in a higher percentage of cases than the whites in the no-record group, and the Mexicans higher than whites in the minor-record group. Mexicans also received a lower average and a lower median sentence than whites in the minor-record category. If mixed cases were removed from the data, these tendencies would be even more pronounced.

The theoretical resolution of these facts is discoverable in the symbolic determinants of the situation and in differences of power. There are a number of possible ways in which the court may react to the criminal situation. First of all, it may be reacting to the socially

visible criminality of the entire minority group, so that the justice tends to be exemplary. Generally the court personnel respond to Negroes as representatives of a highly criminal group and to Mexicans as somewhat less criminal, which introduces the graded differential noted in the sentences. That this is not a completely stereotypic process seems clearly shown by the actual differences in felony rates. It is also noteworthy that, in the two instances in which Mexicans received longer average sentences than Negroes, the crime of Auto Theft was involved, one in which Mexicans figure far more prominently than Negroes.

A second possible reaction of the court is to the nature of the offense. Here it is contended that property crimes and probably narcotics violations are more likely to arouse anxieties over status and power, as do mixed cases of any sort. (Many property crimes by members of minority groups will of necessity be mixed cases.) Situations in which these crimes play a part are likely to be defined in terms of struggle for power. Another way in which issues of power and struggle are injected into situations is through the attributes of the defense of the individual criminal. Individual attitudes of truculence, hostility, and contempt for the "white man's justice," implicit or explicit, may configure the situation in conflict values, as will militant defense through the agency of labor unions, radical action groups, and their combinations. When conflict values are invoked, the resultant sentences are very likely to express the differences in power between the dominant majority and the minorities.

The Negroes far more than Mexicans, as individuals and in organized capacities, present a challenge to existing power alignments within the community. They are a much newer group in the area and in recent years have increased at a much faster rate. Furthermore, they are politically more conscious, aggressive, and articulate in their struggles for status. Nevertheless, it is debatable whether the institutional, technological, and organizational basis for their power is substantially greater than that of the Mexicans. One might further argue that the Mexican—because of actual ignorance, through feigned stupidity, or by a play upon the risibilities and sentimental indulgence of the court—is frequently more successful in obtaining leniency than is the average Negro, who is likely to have a more belligerent attitude. The same defense, of course, is utilized by the Negro but apparently with less consistency.

HOUSING PROBLEMS OF MINORITY GROUPS IN IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

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If this were a thesis or a dissertation, the topic would be described somewhat as follows: an examination of the housing problems of three important minority groups in Los Angeles County and of certain phases of the community's reactions to these problems during the war years of 1940 to 1945, inclusive.

The situation in Los Angeles County must be viewed against a series of wartime developments peculiar to that region. During the war, the newspapers of southern California carried a long series of stories involving the relationships of distinguishable racial groups. An analysis of items appearing on the front pages of the two main sections of the *Los Angeles Times* illustrates this fact. In each of the years of this study, the number of stories dealing with minority groups was as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Articles</i>
1940	27
1941	48
1942	124
1943	74
1944	59
1945	45

Among these stories, major attention was given to all of the movements of the Japanese and to the so-called Zoot Suit gangs, large headlines featuring the riots of June, 1943. Among situations receiving minor attention, the influx of Negroes, their living conditions in Little Tokyo, the importation of Mexican nationals as farm labor, and the industrial adjustments of the Negroes were the subjects of scattered reporting. For varying reasons, southern California lived much of the war period with some problem involving some visible minority held up for public inspection. These matters were in addition to the variety of situations concerning such groups as were reported from time to time by the national and international press.

The figures presented reveal that by far the smallest number of news stories appeared in 1940. Apparently, a state of considerable accommodation had been reached in the relationships between the

larger distinguishable minority groups in the county and the Anglo-American¹ majority. Though tensions existed, other matters were in the forefront of public attention, and people went about their habitual daily routines with relatively little thought concerning the presence of minority and majority groups.

This relative calm seems to have been correlated with several facts. During the period from 1930 to 1940, the only minority group which had been growing more rapidly than the total population was the Negroes; and they had already established large residential areas, so that their invasions tended to be gradual marginal infiltrations into areas close to predominantly Negro residential districts.

The population of Los Angeles County in April of 1940 as given by the United States Census was 2,785,643. Of this number, an estimated 212,000 were persons of Mexican ancestry, approximately 75,000 were Negroes, and 37,000 were Japanese. The Negroes had grown from 2.1 per cent of the population in 1930 to 2.7 per cent in 1940. They had increased 62 per cent, whereas the total population had grown by only about 26 per cent. Hansen and Beckett concluded that the rate of the Mexican in-migration had been lower than that of the growth of the total population, but that this group had remained a roughly constant proportion of the population because of its higher birth rate.² The Japanese population had increased only slightly from 1930 to 1940.

The attention which the majority group was giving to the housing problems of Orientals and Mexicans in 1940 seems to have been directed chiefly toward general programs of slum clearance and delinquency prevention. Little evidence of anxiety on the part of the majority over invasions by *these* distinguishable minorities was discovered in newspapers or by means of interviews.

Minorities had in general the poorest housing in the county, and a combination of circumstances kept them therein. A study conducted in 1939 by the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles of some 250,000 dwelling units, mostly in the central areas of

¹ This term is used in the present paper to distinguish between the minority groups selected for study and the majority, which in Los Angeles County consists chiefly of the Caucasian people of European ancestry. Unfortunately, no wholly satisfactory term exists, and this one has the advantage of being currently in use among a considerable number of persons who work with the problems here discussed.

² Earl Hansen and Paul Beckett, *Los Angeles: Its People and Its Homes* (Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles, 1944), p. 37.

the city, revealed that the percentages of the various racial groups living in substandard housing were as follows³:

Anglo-Americans	18.3 %
Negro-Americans	28.6 %
Oriental-Americans	47.2 %
Mexican-Americans	59.6 %

All the minorities tended to remain segregated for many reasons. The Mexicans were kept out of other areas by poverty, ignorance of the ways of Anglo-Americans, quiet connivance of real estate men, cohesive neighborhood opposition, lack of effective organization, and legal restrictions. The Japanese had to face, besides all the other difficulties met by the Mexicans, the alien land laws; but they were better organized. The Japanese group was relatively stable in numbers, and the growing Mexican communities tended to occupy dwelling units not really desired by the members of the majority group.

The most noticeable tension existing in 1940 as a result of minority housing developments concerned the Negroes. In the first place, their numbers had been growing so rapidly that the size of this most highly segregated of the minority groups was increased significantly. They did enjoy somewhat better housing than the other groups studied. One result was that they tended to invade areas already occupied and still desired by Anglo-Americans. They did not always seek the lowest-rent urban and rural housing; they piled up in areas of high concentration and visibility and tended to push vigorously, if gradually, against the walls of resistance around them. In the surrounding areas, the Anglo-Americans tended to worry about further encroachments.

In spite of these tensions, the changes were being made without much general public attention to the minority group involved. The conflicts which had developed were principally at the peripheries of the established Negro aggregates, and, as the Negroes pushed into adjoining areas, the resulting conflicts tended to be of the nature of minor skirmishes on a stabilized front of trench warfare. As far as the general public was concerned, all was quiet. After each minor thrust, a new accommodation tended to result. This process had been carefully studied a few years earlier by Dr. J. Max Bond in a dissertation on *The Negro in Los Angeles*.⁴

³ *A Decent Home an American Right*, 5th, 6th, and 7th Consolidated Report, Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles (Los Angeles, 1945), p. 14.

⁴ Unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1936), pp. 95 ff.

In 1940 even the legal devices used by Anglo-American occupants to protect their neighborhoods from invasion by members of minority groups seemed reasonably settled. Declarations of restrictions were filed limiting the use of property to persons of Caucasian ancestry. Persons interviewed by the present writer early in the period under consideration expressed much more confidence in the effectiveness of such restrictions upon property in their respective communities than did those with whom later discussions were held.

Then came the war! Movements of population speeded up. A housing shortage developed. Tensions and pressures grew rapidly. Many persons from both minority and majority groups soon found themselves desperately hunting suitable abodes. The story of the housing crisis can be most succinctly told by an analysis of percentages of occupancy. The Residential Research Committee prepared a weighted average of the percentage of vacancies in dwelling units in Los Angeles County by years, from 1926 to 1944. The figures for 1940-44 follow:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Percentage Vacancy</i>
1940	4.8
1941	3.4
1942	3.2
1943	0.24
1944	0.13

Obviously, the big drop in vacancies came between 1942 and 1943. The data, which are available in more detail for various classes of dwelling units, show that the sharp drop in vacancies began in October of 1942.

The "Second Report to the Mayor's Committee on the Housing Emergency by Its Sub-committee to Estimate Over-all Community Need for Housing for Los Angeles County"⁵ estimated that by June of 1945 the percentage of occupancy was at least 106.4, representing a shortage of 70,000 units required to reduce occupancy to 100 per cent, or 93,000 units required to reduce occupancy to 98 per cent. (The National Housing Agency at one time used 98 per cent occupancy as the level beyond which reasonable freedom of choice disappeared.) Furthermore, the shortage increased after June of 1945. In January of 1946 the Residential Research Committee, after reviewing all the data, concluded that the housing shortage was rapidly becoming more severe.⁶

⁵ Mimeographed (10 pp.).

⁶ Report of January 31, 1946.

Many people have been inadequately housed in Los Angeles County. Two of the minority groups here being considered, the Japanese and the Negroes, seem to have suffered more than the average, whereas one group, the Mexicans, appears to have suffered relatively less. The Mexicans simply continued in their accustomed inferior housing. No responsible statistical studies seem to have been made of changes in their numbers, but several people who worked closely with them reported that relatively little over-all change had taken place.

When the Japanese were evacuated in 1942, their problems were withdrawn from southern California until 1945. Accordingly, during the middle of the war years the special housing problems of minorities involved primarily the Negroes. During most of the period, this group continued to increase more rapidly than the total population. Two estimates of shortages of Negro housing were discovered in the course of this study. Neither estimate can be established as highly accurate, but both showed a Negro housing shortage of some 11,000 to 12,000 units. This number was roughly one-third of all housing units available for these people in 1945. Even if the margin of error is wide, a shortage more severe than that suffered by the Anglo-Americans seems evident.

The first and basic reason for the more severe shortage for Negroes was, of course, the strict segregation noted above. The legal basis of the system in Los Angeles was the judge-made law which prevented the use of property by classes of persons specifically excluded by restrictive provisions in deeds or in covenants signed by the property owners and recorded with the County Recorder. For years many of the borders of the Negro communities had been areas of trench warfare between the Negroes pressing in and the Anglo-Americans pushing them back.

In late 1942 and 1943, the influx of Negroes was dramatically brought to the attention of the whole area by means of newspaper stories and pictures of living conditions in the Little Tokyo area, which they had occupied in the wake of the Japanese evacuation. Little Tokyo—or Bronzeville, as it was later called—was the Japanese business district in the older portion of downtown Los Angeles. Because the Negro in-migrants had crowded into unused store and restaurant buildings, their sorry plight had soon become apparent to the social workers, police, and health authorities; but the newspaper stories reached a much larger public.

Two distinct types of reaction immediately became apparent. In the first place, the Anglo-Americans in areas near Negro settlements

rushed to the barricades, and a veritable wave of covenanting developed. In the second place, a group soon formed to find solutions. A committee was sponsored by the Council of Social Agencies, and it began to press for more public housing. Many persons already interested in public housing renewed their efforts. As a result of this interest, some action was taken by the public-housing authorities to establish units available to Negroes. Private construction did little to aid the Negroes in their search for shelter. According to statistics assembled by Doctor George Gleason in July of 1945, only about 3 per cent of new private housing constructed under N.H.A. permits during the war was available to them, although they constituted over 12 per cent of the in-migrants.

The fact that the greatest assistance to the Negroes came through public housing is revealed in the report of the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles for February of 1946. At that time, the racial pattern of occupancy in the 11,170 units controlled by the Authority was:

Whites	57.9%
Negroes	27.4%
Others	14.7%

Most of the "Others" were Mexicans, and all the occupants had moved in since January of 1941. The distribution occurred in spite of the fact that many of the permanent developments of this agency were in areas previously populated by persons of Mexican ancestry.

The pressure upon the Negro people, associated as it was with the publicity given other interracial matters, resulted in the development of social organizations in the community to represent the interests of minority groups. The Los Angeles riots of June, 1943, gave these organizations their greatest stimulus, and the wave of riots that swept the nation in that year added urgency.

One result of this effervescence was the Los Angeles Council for Civic Unity, which set out specifically to draw together as many as possible of the organizations interested in furthering what they conceived to be just treatment of minority groups. An analysis of the organizations which were its members, therefore, provides a rough index to the various groups which were interested in securing attention to the needs of minorities, including housing.

This analysis roughly identified the principal nuclei of community pressure in these matters as follows: (1) The minority groups were themselves organized, especially the Jewish people and Negroes. (2) A large number of individuals, congregations, and special agencies of the Christian churches were represented. (3) A powerful pressure came

from organized labor, especially from certain individuals in the C.I.O. (4) The original stimulus for the Council for Civic Unity came from certain political groups somewhat "left of center." The heart of these groups seemed to be what might be called professional people (such as studio technicians, actors, writers, and attorneys representing unions), members of certain minority groups, and some persons employed by governmental agencies. This fourth element seemed to have a fairly well-established liaison with class three.

In spite of such agitation and the presentation of the news with a racial orientation as noted above, the basic problem of living space for Negroes appeared to receive very little attention from those members of the general public not immediately involved. The analysis of the front pages of the *Times* revealed the following numbers of stories on housing for minorities:

1940	0
1941	0
1942	0
1943	4
1944	1
1945	1

The general subject of housing received considerably more attention on the front pages of newspapers, especially in late 1945, when veterans began to return in large numbers. One person who had fought doggedly through the war to secure more housing for the area, especially for Negroes, remarked bitterly in late 1945, "It's now respectable to have a housing shortage." The groups which had been urging public housing and special attention for minorities now found new allies. They were joined by the veterans' organizations.

When the proponents of better opportunities for minorities went forth to battle, not only in 1945 but earlier, where did they find their opposition? A very active member of the citizens' council summarized the opposition as "real estate people, speculative builders, financial institutions, contractors—the building industry."⁷ And other evidence piles up to support the general accuracy of his statement and to indicate that these groups tended to resist the measures of the reformers.

Significant points in the attitudes of the majority of the members of the building industry can be fairly well summarized from interview and other data as follows:

1. They assumed that minorities would live in inferior housing and expressed no special concern over the situation—that's just the way the automatic economy works.
2. Segregation was taken for granted and with it the whole set of usual unobtrusive devices for achieving and perpetuating it.

⁷ Personal interview.

3 The real fear of the building industry was of the growth of governmental activities in the housing field

From the third point just mentioned flowed a deep feeling against the reformers who tended to uphold and advocate the use of governmental authority.

The active pressures of these business groups seem to have been not so much against minorities as against efforts to aid these minorities which involved any infringements upon the opportunities for private enterprise to do whatever was to be done in the way of providing housing and also against any move which might change the rules of the real estate business. This conclusion was borne out by an analysis of the editorial comment in approximately one-third of the issues of the *Southwest Builder and Contractor* for the years 1940-45.

During 1945, the situation was further complicated by the return of many Japanese who were released from, and finally forced out of, the relocation centers. Some 23,000 of them returned to Los Angeles County.⁸ A man who was working night and day trying to help them find places to live estimated that at the end of 1945 approximately one-half had found dwelling places. Of the other half, some 2,200 were in abandoned army barracks built of boards and tar paper, some 1,500 were in hostels run principally by religious groups, and the rest were "doubling up" with those who had found accommodations. They had gone back into much the same sections of the city from which they had come, but they had had difficulty returning to the rural areas, because the antagonisms seemed more virulent there and the land was being operated by others.

The desperate efforts of the restricted minorities to find living space during the war years had resulted also in many law suits and a vigorous attack upon certain rules of law. As suits were brought against Negro occupants, various organizations stood willing to aid in the fight, especially where appeals to higher courts were in order. By the end of 1945, these events had cast some doubts upon the legality of restrictive covenants, and a vigorous campaign was being conducted to convince the courts that restrictions which denied the use of certain property to persons of non-Caucasian ancestry were illegal because of that section of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which reads in part as follows: "No state shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

⁸ W.R.A. figures.

RACIAL TENSIONS AMONG JAPANESE IN THE INTERMOUNTAIN NORTHWEST¹

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Japanese have been in the Intermountain Northwest for over fifty years, but in small numbers.² When the War Relocation program began, this area offered a desirable site for early relocatees, because it was near their former homes, it already had a few Japanese, who had not been evacuated, and it offered a reasonably good opportunity to develop fruit and vegetable farming, as well as small industries in which Japanese had become successful along the West Coast. During the two years prior to this study, Japanese had been relocated in the Intermountain Northwest; when these were added to the very small number already in the vicinity, they comprised, as of December, 1945, about 1.5 per cent of the population, or an increase of nearly 600 per cent over 1940. When relocatees were sent into this area where there had been no evacuation of the few Japanese who had lived here for years, friction resulted with Caucasians and, to some extent, among the resident Japanese and the relocatees. This friction, together with that which already existed because of the war with Japan, led to occasional outbreaks of violence.³

¹The material presented in this paper is a summary of a larger study developed to point out existing conditions between Japanese and Caucasians and within certain Japanese groups in the Intermountain Northwest

²Many of the historical data in the first two paragraphs are taken in summary from Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice. Japanese-Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance* (Boston. Little, Brown and Company, 1944), *passim*

³*Methodological Note:* The conclusions in this paper are based on questionnaires, supplemented by personal interviews, designed to detect and reveal the forms of discrimination existing between racial groups in the Intermountain Northwest. The questionnaires were delivered in person in four Inland Empire cities—one to each home in each tenth block on every fifth street, exclusive of the industrial and business areas. Each city was divided into six sections, and coded questionnaires were identifiable with respect to sections of the city. The six sections were arbitrarily determined with the aid of policemen, realtors, and letter carriers. In certain housing projects, in which there was co-operation with government agencies, every third house was visited. From an alphabetical list of rooming houses and hotels, every tenth unit was selected, and a questionnaire was presented to permanent guests in each. The purpose of the study was explained to each person receiving a questionnaire, who was asked to answer it and return it in a self-addressed, stamped envelope. If the person refused to take the questionnaire, it was scored as a refusal to return it. Returns represented 67.2 per cent of all questionnaires delivered.

In addition to obtaining information from the questionnaire, the writer spent six weeks interviewing 281 individuals and 26 groups in the Inter-

It should be kept in mind that our present attitudes toward the Japanese are not of recent origin, for our prejudice toward them dates back almost to the first day of their arrival in this country. In the early 1890's, white laborers on the West Coast were complaining of the low wages forced by cheap Chinese and Japanese labor. In 1900, after the annexation of Hawaii, 12,000 Japanese came to this country. This was the real beginning of prejudice as far as the press and local political organizations were concerned.

The program of propaganda against the persons of Japanese ancestry was continued, though sporadically, from 1900 until the Japanese attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor, whereupon indignation against the attackers became white-hot. It was this indignation—combined with the clever political manipulations of certain vested interests, lack of foresight by the Army and the Navy, and fear of sabotage to the war effort—that led to the evacuation.

Much of the tension between Japanese and Caucasians, as well as among Japanese themselves, can be traced to the resettlement program. Early in this program, the more Americanized evacuees were resettled with a minimum of problems, but later removals experienced increasing difficulties in community adjustment. In recent months, since the announcement of the closing of relocation centers, movements from the centers have been so rapid as to result in a less careful screening of individuals, so that disturbances usually avoided earlier in the program occurred. These factors have tended to increase friction both with the Caucasians and with the Japanese who were living in the areas. War Relocation officials explain that evacuees who remained longest in the centers were progressively more difficult to relocate and that, instead of decreasing as the program neared its close, disturbances and difficulties of resettlement grew increasingly worse.

Many difficulties were faced by authorities who sought to relocate this residue of the centers as well as some of the approximately 20,000 Japanese-Americans who were in the armed forces. Among the

mountain Northwest on topics covered in this study. Persons in all types of business were included. In each field of business, an individual in a position to state policy was interviewed. Many special cases of discrimination were studied in an attempt to determine causes of friction.

Because the questionnaires were distributed approximately a month before the close of the war, the many abrupt changes upon termination of the war necessitated a re-check. A small sampling of three hundred additional questionnaires was distributed about a month after the close of the war with Japan. With reference to the Japanese, results showed no significant changes.

more serious problems of resettlement are public hostility, boycotts, the housing shortage, job discrimination, official denial of business and professional licenses, extortionate insurance premiums, legal barriers, lack of personal funds and governmental assistance, and loss of ambition and enterprise among Japanese because of age, emotional upsets, and idleness in the centers. All these factors are important to Japanese in the Intermountain Northwest except the boycott, which as yet has not made its appearance except in the form of threats.

Public hostility has decreased somewhat since the close of the Second World War, but not sufficiently to assure Japanese a peaceful resettlement. An excellent program of propaganda launched by the Federal Government, along with that of several other organizations, is having a desirable effect, but as yet has reached only a small proportion of the population. In place of the highly emotional, unorganized demonstrations of Pearl Harbor days, persistent, organized opposition has sprung up. Although this organized opposition against the Japanese is perhaps most acute in the Coastal area, concerted attempts have been made to reach outlying areas where large numbers of Japanese have relocated.

Boycotts have not as yet become important in the Intermountain Northwest. Attempts by certain groups to secure a boycott by retail florists of Japanese flower growers had not proved successful at this writing. Efforts were made to boycott Hangman's Creek (Spokane Valley) vegetable farmers, but this failed, because of a lack of feeling against the Japanese, most of whom were in this area prior to the war, and also because of the fact that, during the time that organizers were in this area, the Intermountain Northwest was experiencing an acute food shortage. Boycotts are not likely to become an important factor in discrimination against the Japanese in this region.

The housing shortage has presented one of the most acute of all problems in the resettlement of Japanese. It has been nearly impossible to find housing for most Japanese families. Only those which were eligible for government housing projects or who had sufficient money to purchase houses at greatly inflated prices have been able to find satisfactory locations. Local hostels have accommodated many Japanese temporarily, but they act only as a stopgap while relocatees seek housing and work. At this writing, the Federal Housing Authority has made no move to provide houses for them. Even the limited assistance given by private organizations frequently has been blocked by the actions of vested interests or prejudiced individuals. Numerous housing

units have been made available by the movements of defense workers back to the East or by the demobilization of soldiers, but as yet the Federal Housing Authority has not acted favorably on the Japanese problem.

Legal barriers present a double problem in resettlement. Not only do many Japanese have a language barrier, but such laws as the Alien Land Law bar them from holding land in most states of the Northwest if they are ineligible for citizenship. This law, extortionate insurance premiums, job discrimination, and denial of licenses—all work together to present almost insurmountable difficulties to many Japanese as far as relocation is concerned.

Lack of funds is a serious handicap to most Japanese. Contrary to popular beliefs, few Japanese have any money of consequence. Grants made by the War Relocation Authority were ridiculously small. A grant of twenty-five dollars, plus travel expense and removal charges, is inconsequential, inasmuch as most relocatees find it necessary to purchase clothing, household equipment, and other necessities for satisfactory resettlement. Generally they have no opportunities to earn sufficient money in the centers to save funds for relocation, for at an average of less than fifty cents per day, from which clothing and other needs had to be purchased, there was little chance to save substantial sums with which to relocate. Japanese who sold their property under forced conditions and at low prices or who left early in 1942 under only a slightly inflated economy find prices greatly inflated on their return. The amount of money required for subsistence prior to the war is now only about half enough for such an existence. The War Relocation Authority blames its stinginess on a Congress which is unwilling to appropriate sufficient funds to adjust these people reasonably to the changed economy to which they have returned.

Because of the inflated prices, the purchase of houses and farms in the Intermountain Northwest by Japanese is prohibitive. The tendency toward larger farm units in this area is a further handicap to prospective relocatees. Most Americans who stayed at home to "help in the war program" have been greatly benefited by an increase in wages and a rise in price of salable products, whereas Japanese worked for a daily wage ridiculously low throughout the war period. A fair compensation for their labor would not be a matter of charity, but one of justice. Some Japanese have been aware of this situation and have been unwilling to make an effort to relocate while being cared for at

government expense. This minimum subsistence they hesitate to leave for possible starvation and charity outside the centers.

Loss of ambition and enterprise are expected results of center life, as conditions at best were demoralizing and depressing. In the early days of the centers, many reporters, journalists, and prominent officials were campaigning for harsher treatment of the evacuees. They did not realize that such action would only increase the Japanese problem when it became necessary to relocate these people in later years. What have some of these problem-solvers of four years ago, who advocated harsher treatment for Japanese in relocation camps, to tell us now about processes of democratizing some 100,000 relocatees? It is hardly to be expected that the Japanese would be hopeful and co-operative under the conditions they encountered while in relocation camps—semi-prison-like barracks—in which they were guarded like a dangerous enemy even while numbers of them were being drafted for military service.

It now seems that a wider dispersion of Japanese in the West might have been encouraged or even enforced. This is sociologically sound, and legally so, if the evacuation from the West Coast could be justified. Perhaps over 40 per cent of those who were on the Coast will never return, but as yet this figure is a mere guess.

Tensions and class differences among the Japanese are rather strong. As far as could be determined, much of this class feeling has developed since the Second World War and is between locatees and those who have lived for years in the Intermountain Northwest. Before the Second World War, a minimum of class feeling and a high degree of racial homogeneity characterized local Japanese, but since relocatees have come to this area in numbers, such homogeneity has given place to class feeling. The prewar Japanese residents complain that relocatees have lost their family solidarity, developed immoral tendencies, and are over-aggressive, disrespectful to authority, lazy, indolent, and irreligious. That the accusation is partially true cannot be denied, but it seems greatly exaggerated. The real reason for the differences is probably that the presence of too many relocatees is a threat to the security of the other Japanese. It means keener competition for the few existing jobs, the focusing of the attention of Caucasians on them, and eventually a change in status.

Relocatees maintain that the previously established Japanese are ignorant, culturally stagnant, complacent, lacking in initiative, con-

descending to whites, and nonprogressive. To be sure, Japanese in the Intermountain Northwest are a somewhat stagnated cultural group, but their cultural conservatism is more probably due to a desire for security than unwillingness to advance culturally or integrate with Caucasians. Relocates insist that the other Japanese are weaklings and came to the Intermountain Northwest in the early settlement days because they were unable to compete with Coastal Japanese. This may or may not be true; nevertheless, it has had its effect in creating tensions among the Japanese.

In addition to the above-mentioned differences, religious tensions are important. Christian Japanese, who are in the majority in the Intermountain Northwest, believe that Buddhists will never become Americanized, maintaining that, so long as they cling to highly formal Buddhist beliefs, their real loyalty must be in some measure to the Japanese Empire. This report cannot adequately discuss such a point, but it should claim the attention of students familiar with the culture and psychology of the Japanese. Whether true or not, it creates dissension and tension among an already disturbed minority.

Japanese in the Intermountain area have been the butt of organized resistance, especially since the government announced plans for relocation of Japanese and has permitted their unrestricted return to the West Coast. Anti-Japanese propaganda has been spread in the United States by certain vested interests since long before the Second World War. Late in 1944 organized efforts were begun to prevent the return of Japanese to the Coastal area. It is apparent that a combination of all these organizations has had some influence in developing hatred of the Japanese. As yet, no organization has been popular in its own right, but each has a small individual following. These small groups have protested loudly, perhaps on the theory that those who cry the loudest will be heeded.

It should, however, be kept in mind that, even in the face of all these difficulties and with much tension in their lives, many Japanese are of the opinion that evacuation will eventually prove to be a blessing in disguise. They believe that Japanese who were uprooted from the cultural islands of the West Coast found in the camps the processes from which will evolve "Americanized" Japanese.

WARTIME RURAL MIGRATION, WESTERN SPECIALTY CROP AREAS¹

H. Otto Dahlke

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Migration to the West is a chapter in folk history. There is a traditional feeling that migration is intimately linked with the fortunes and destiny of our rural population. This interpretation is due partly to the romantic tradition that has evolved around the nation's expansion to the West and partly to the stories and publicity centering around the depression and "Dust Bowl" migrants of the last decade. From a larger point of view, mass movement of people represents an evaluation of economic opportunities and social conditions in different regions of the nation. Special circumstances are important, and such a special condition was the Second World War.

The rural farm population of the western specialty crop area, like that in other areas, had to respond to the military and industrial demands of the nation. It also had to meet the demand for increased food production. A part of the farm population thus moved to the cities, where the impersonality of urban living often involves a major adjustment and produces a period of confusion or a state of cultural shock. The population which remained also had to modify its work and living habits during the war years.

The magnitude of migration to the centers of war industry on the West Coast is indicated by the movement to the largest congested areas.² During the past four years over two million people moved into the five main industrial areas along the Pacific Coast: the Puget Sound area, the Portland-Vancouver area, the San Francisco Bay region, the Los Angeles area, and San Diego County. Three-fourths of these people went to California. People who had lived on farms in 1940 comprised 13 per cent of the total. The number of males and females migrating was almost the same. All these represent only a part of the migrants in the western region, inas-

¹ This report is based on research conducted in Tulare, Imperial, Santa Barbara, and Butte Counties, California; Ada and Bingham Counties, Idaho; and Clark County, Washington, by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics during 1945. Supplementary data from other sources were also utilized. The western specialty crop area is a type of farming region characterized by intensive agriculture and irrigation.

² Bureau of the Census, Series CA-3, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8.

much as there were over fifteen other industrial areas in addition to these five main ones.

Few full-time operators took up nonfarm work. Estimates in the sample counties ranged from 1 per cent to 4 per cent of the operators. The migrants to war-production centers were primarily small, marginal farmers, low-income families, and tenants. Though there appeared to be an exodus of farm labor, both year-round and especially seasonal, to nonfarm occupations and though farmers complained of labor shortages, there was no net reduction in the number of farm workers employed. Withdrawals from the farm labor force were offset by additions.³ The replacement, however, came from emergency workers—such as nonfarm volunteers, Mexican nationals, prisoners of war, other migrants, and an increased number of farm-family workers in the younger and older age brackets.

A forced migration of 114,000 Japanese-Americans, two-thirds of whom were Nisei, from the western half of the Pacific Coast states was one of the more spectacular aspects of the wartime population shifts.⁴ About 45 per cent of these people were part of the rural population. Most of the operators, about 65 per cent, were tenants. The land the Japanese-Americans had cultivated was sold or leased to farmers, grower-shipper operators, or new corporations and associations. Most of the farm equipment was also sold or leased to farmers and companies. Several of the relocation camps were located in the western specialty crop area.

ADJUSTMENT OF RURAL MIGRANTS WITHIN AND NEAR WAR-INDUSTRY CENTERS

The influx of migrants into these larger centers produced a congestion which made adjustments difficult, especially for migrant families from rural areas. Annoyances and strain arising from troubles in rather mechanical, everyday, though important, facts of living, such as housing and transportation, no doubt made it more difficult for the migrants to get along, but there were also more

³ Walter C. McKain, Jr., "Too Many Farm Workers—A Post-War Labor Problem," *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society*, in *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, XIII (1945), 18-19.

⁴ Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority, *Myths and Facts about the Japanese-Americans* (Washington, D. C., June, 1945); Adon Poli and Warren Engstrand, "Japanese Agriculture on the Pacific Coast," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economy*, XXI (1945), 352-64; War Department, Final Report, *Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast* (Washington, D. C., 1943).

subtle social obstacles. Migrants found themselves isolated in the social anonymity of the housing projects or trailer-camp cities. Here huge agglomerations of strangers were set apart from each other and from the local community. Migrants were frequently regarded with suspicion and dislike. Their presence was often thoroughly deplored by old residents. Living in a housing unit often carried a stigma, so that social distance increased or decreased according to the social evaluation placed upon a particular unit. A large influx of Negro migrants introduced adjustment problems which extended through factories, shipyards, housing units, schools, and playgrounds.⁵ Social isolation was further increased by a high turnover in housing units, double shifts in the schools, and parents working at odd shifts. The intensification of juvenile problems and the increase of divorces suggests the disintegration of families. This, then, represents an environment conducive to culture shock among rural migrants, both adults and children.

In reaction against conditions in housing projects and cities, many in-migrants became homeowners as well as landowners. Thus 28 per cent owned homes in the Portland area, 12 per cent in San Diego, and 10 per cent in the East Bay area.⁶ Often a family purchased a tract of land of from two to five acres for subsistence purposes—building a house or shack and keeping some chickens, a cow, and a small garden. Rurbanization was thus given a big push. In spreading out over the countryside, the migrant population furthered the breakdown of rural neighborhoods, encouraged land speculation and excessive subdivision of land, and laid the ground for future problems in housing, health, schooling, employment, and relief in the expanded rurban zone between city and farm.⁷

The rural-farm population previously living within war-production areas underwent similar experiences. Some lost their farms when their land was taken over for military or industrial purposes.

⁵ Robert Colbert, "The Attitude of Old Negro Residents toward Recent Negro Migrants in Portland, Oregon, and Seattle, Washington," unpublished MS; "The Western States," *Fortune*, XXXI (1945), Feb., 120.

⁶ Post-War Planning Bureau of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, *After the War—What?* (July 1, 1944); Portland Committee on the Post-War Planning Shipyard Survey, *Two Yards' Total* (mimeo., 1944); unpublished data from Bay Area Chambers of Commerce Survey.

⁷ A. W. Peterson, B. D. Parrish, and M. T. Buchanan, *An Economic Study of Agriculture in Western Washington in Relation to Economic Land Class* (State College of Washington, mimeo., Aug., 1944); Carl P. Heisig, *Cut-Over Lands of Western Washington* (U S Bur. Agr. Econ. in Co-operation with Washington Agr. Expt. Sta., Aug., 1941).

Other farmers curtailed their operations to a minimum. Sometimes they rented the land to neighbors. Sometimes they sold. They went into the nearby war plants, commuting daily in cars and buses. The result was the "swing-shift" farmer, who very often gave up farming completely. There is some evidence that part-time farm families engaged in war production fared better, in terms of total income, than many full-time operators, especially when several family members were working. Both full-time and part-time farmers who entered the war plants had to readjust themselves to the industrial discipline which such work imposed and which many felt onerous. Day, swing, or graveyard shift—this was the cycle of time that supplanted the natural rhythm of seasons, of planting, and of harvesting. Family living became subject to the same strain as among in-migrants, especially the care of children when both parents were working.

Despite negative reactions to some conditions of work, many effected a satisfactory accommodation to the industrial system and developed a pride of workmanship in the construction of a ship, airplane, or the like. The development of such positive attitudes was accompanied by the growth of a we-feeling with regard to the place of work and to fellow workers. This was true of both men and women of farm background who worked in the factories. For farm women the independent income which they received and the broadened viewpoint through contacts with other workers were especially important. It is among this group that the process of urbanization is taking place most actively.

ADJUSTMENT OF RURAL-FARM POPULATION OUTSIDE WAR-INDUSTRY CENTERS

The loss of a segment of the rural-farm population apparently strengthened what is commonly thought of as traditional farm virtues. Thus some farmers practiced more mutual aid, especially in the exchange of work and the use of equipment. Furthermore, longer hours of labor emphasized the virtue of hard work. This fact led many farmers to condemn war workers as a lazy, shiftless group of individuals who were earning huge sums of money without much effort. Because greater use was made of family labor, this practice underscored the tradition of the family as a co-operative working unit. Not only were women and children used more extensively, but also the older people, some of whom, as a farmer

observed, "died in the harness." The reassertion of traditional values was more common in the Mormon culture area and among the nationality groups in California where familism is still strong.

In other areas, the emphasis has been upon further rationalization of farm practices. Increased rationalization was not confined to the large-scale operators and grower-shippers. The war gave many farmers, especially smaller operators, the opportunity and means to get rid of their horses and secure tractors. In Tulare County, California, the County Agricultural War Board assigned 62 per cent of the tractors to operators who previously used horses, hired the work done, or did not operate farms. In this and other counties, there have been exhibitions of newer types of machinery and labor-saving equipment, and all kinds of homemade contrivances which local farmers invented to meet their needs. Rationalization was further extended to the adoption of laborsaving practices in irrigation, tillage, and harvesting operations.

Contact with the outside and the growth of associations and special-interest groups are usually taken as indices of urbanization. Impersonal contacts, for example, increased when smaller farmers in the mountain area were encouraged by the United States Employment Service to engage in war work during winter months. Not infrequently efforts were made to convert such temporary employment to permanent jobs. At any rate, the male head of many a rural family thus experienced the trials and difficulties of people in the war-industry centers. The ubiquitous presence of sailors and soldiers flowing through the countryside from the widely scattered army and navy camps—sometimes appearing as temporary workers during a harvest pinch, sometimes as personal visitors—also enlarged the range of contact. Sons and daughters, friends or relatives in the armed forces or war industries became carriers of new ideas and values and changed the focus of attention from the local community to the greater society, in this way implementing with a personal touch the force of movies, radio, and newspapers.

The range of formal associations and groups also widened. Thus the County Agricultural War Board, ration boards, Selective Service, Red Cross activities, U.S.O., special committees for bond and salvage drives, and farm-labor associations added to the formal organization of rural life. There was some diminution in the at-

tendance and activities of established interest groups, and clique groups broke up in the population shifts. Youth activities in churches and extension work were especially hard hit by a lack of leaders, most of whom had been inducted, and the unbalanced ratio between males and females resulting from the draft circumscribed the usual patterns of recreation and interaction between the sexes.

The irrigated areas in Washington, California, and Arizona have always used large amounts of farm labor, a large part of it migratory. In Utah and Idaho, the local labor supply was usually adequate to meet all farm needs. After 1940 many persons who had been farm laborers took more lucrative jobs or entered the armed forces. The need for experienced workers, especially as truck and tractor drivers and dairy workers, for example, became particularly strong.

The initial effort of farmers and farm groups to solve their problem was to organize school children and town and city people to help harvest crops.⁸ Harvest vacations were standard in some areas, and during the war this period was lengthened. As the war went on, the use of school children tapered off. The A.W.V.S. organized special camps for nonfarm women in the Pacific States. This was another form of the intermingling of urban population and rural life.

The second effort was directed to the use of imported labor, of Japanese evacuees, and later of prisoners of war. Imported labor made its first appearance in the Mormon culture area of the Mountain states. Farm-labor associations were organized by operators in many counties. It was the function of such a group to provide camps for housing, food, and medical attention. It had the responsibility to keep the men in the camps employed and to guarantee a minimum of work per day. Such an arrangement is a startling contrast to customary relations with migrant farm labor. Up to August, 1944, 96,000 Mexican nationals had worked in the Pacific Coast states, Idaho, Utah, and Arizona.⁹ Reactions to these Mexi-

⁸ Fred Spooner and J. W. Halleen, "Supervised Student Labor on Farms," *The Child*, VIII (1943), pp. 3-7; U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Women's Emergency Farm Service on the Pacific Coast in 1943*, Bul. 204 (Washington, D. C., 1945).

⁹ William A. Anglim, *Special Report*, War Food Administration, Office of Labor (Berkeley, California, 1944).

cans varied from social discrimination to the celebration of Mexican holidays as a special community event.

The extent to which farm laborers will fall into or try to change the prewar pattern of employment and living conditions in agriculture will be one of the major postwar issues in the western specialty crop area. Both resident Mexican and white farm laborers have undergone some change after brief careers in war industry. There is a new sense of worth and independence. It expresses itself in new clothing, somewhat elaborate trailers, and conspicuous consumption. Because of gasoline rationing, the scarcity of cheap automobiles, and perhaps the housing shortage, many settled down. As a consequence, they had the opportunity to develop a sense of being members of a community and neighborhood rather than of being exploited outsiders, as they interpreted their role. There was thus an advance in economic status and the achievement of a community feeling. It will be, then, a real problem to give up this status in moving with the crops, and friction may arise if they are pushed back into an inferior economic and social position. Farm workers are reluctant to return to farm work at current wages, and there is an overt animosity displayed against the use of Mexican nationals and prisoners of war. Growers are certain that anticipated economic pressures and labor surpluses will force agricultural workers back into the prewar status. Nevertheless, some growers have come to the realization that in order to keep a steady supply of labor they have to improve living conditions. The status of agricultural workers and the relation between worker and grower at present is unstable and uncertain, and a "new definition of the situation" is in process of formation.

In general, the struggle for community status, redefinitions of the roles of family members, and increased secularization and rationalization in many spheres of living have arisen and been augmented through the change and stress of the war period, so that, despite a temporary reassertion of older values, the traditional conception of farming as a way of living has still less relation to the realities of the socio-economic organization of the western specialty crop area than it has in other areas.

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September, 1946

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Entered as second-class matter December 26, 1936, at the post office at Pullman, Washington, under Act of August 24, 1912.

Research Studies of the State College of Washington is published in Pullman, Washington, by the State College of Washington. It is issued four times a year—in March, June, September, and December.

PURPOSE. *Research Studies* is established to provide a medium of publication for articles of research in the pure sciences and arts; it is limited to material making a contribution to knowledge. Its pages are open to the faculty and the advanced students of the State College of Washington.

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RESEARCH STUDIES of the STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

Volume XIV

September, 1946

Number 3

RACIAL SURVEY OF THE INTERMOUNTAIN NORTHWEST

Tolbert Hall Kennedy
Assistant Professor of Sociology

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In recent years racial tensions fomented by World War II have become observable in the Northwest. Spokane and vicinity had felt racial tensions only in a minor degree until Negroes migrated to this region with the Army, or to secure work in defense industries. Prior to this migration the number of Negroes in Spokane had been so small as to attract attention, principally because so few lived in this area. In 1940 there were 639 Negroes in Spokane County, fewer than 1% of the population, but in 1945 this had increased to approximately 1500. By this time friction in several places could be observed.

Japanese have been in Spokane for over fifty years, but in small numbers. When the War Relocation Program began, this city was a likely site for early relocatees, as it was near their former homes, it already had Japanese who had not been evacuated, and it offered a reasonably good opportunity to develop fruit and vegetable industries, in which Japanese have become successful along the West Coast. During the two years prior to this study, Japanese have been relocated in Spokane and these, added to 330 already in the vicinity, made a total of some 1400 people of Japanese descent in Spokane County. The return of relocatees has brought friction with Caucasians and to some extent among the Japanese themselves. When this is added to the friction that already existed because of the war with the Japanese Imperial Empire, the need is apparent for a study of race relations in this area.

The situation was brought to the attention of the investigator and The State College of Washington by the Spokane Race Relations Council. These two groups, after the arrangement of necessary details, jointly encouraged and supported the study. The Spokane

Race Relations Council has been helpful in developing the project, as well as in carrying it to its conclusion. In addition, the personnel of the War Relocation Authority has been co-operative in making available materials, as well as in offering suggestions, gained from their rich experience with Japanese.

The study has three main purposes, namely:

1. To find the amount and intensity of racial friction existing in the Spokane area between minority peoples and Caucasians.
2. To suggest, if possible, solutions to the problems discovered; to take immediate steps to remove or decrease prejudices uncovered by the investigator; and to determine the cause of existing tension. (This second purpose has been one of the primary objectives of the Spokane Race Relations Council.)
3. To formulate a long-range educational program looking forward to elimination of friction, and, if possible, prejudice between races.

The area studied includes Spokane County and adjacent territory where evacuees from War Relocation Camps have been working. Among places studied other than Spokane County, the most important are Moses Lake, Coeur d'Alene, and the Montana regions where railroads of the Northwest have large Japanese labor units. In addition to the above-mentioned areas, the investigator went into the Yakima, Wenatchee, Walla Walla, and Lewiston districts in a survey of these areas so that the conclusions presented might be applicable not only to Spokane itself, but to the whole Inland Empire.

The conclusions of this survey include results from both the questionnaire and the interview as techniques of approach to the problem. A brief analysis of each approach is deemed necessary to an understanding of the study.

In order to ascertain the degree of discrimination existing between racial groups in everyday relationships, a questionnaire which was to be answered anonymously was distributed to certain Caucasians of Spokane County, Washington, and of the city of Spokane. No Negroes, Indians, Chinese, or Japanese were given questionnaires, and any copies on which the recipients indicated in their answers that they were of Jewish lineage were not counted in the final compilations.

The majority of the questionnaires were delivered in person to homes of each tenth block on every fifth street, exclusive of the business and industrial area. The purpose of the study was explained to a responsible individual at each house visited or at each housing unit, who was asked to answer the questionnaire without signing a name. A self-addressed stamped envelope was supplied.

Of 4672 questionnaires distributed, 3263 were returned. For various reasons, however, 126 of these were cast out as invalid, a total of 3137 actually being used in the computations.¹ Returns represented 67.02 per cent of all questionnaires delivered or houses where calls were made. This relatively good percentage of returns may have been due to the method used in distributing the questionnaire, to the fact that a self-addressed stamped envelope for a return was furnished, and to the ease with which most of the questionnaires could be answered—by a check or by a very few words. All answers were returned to the investigator at The State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.

As a special check, in Victory Heights Housing Project every tenth house was visited, but in Coplen Park Housing Project, where disturbances over the racial question had been reported, every third house was visited. In rooming houses and hotels, every tenth one taken alphabetically from a list of hotels and rooming houses was sampled, each roomer at the selected places being given a questionnaire. Only permanent guests in these places were presented with questionnaires.

The city was divided into six sections, and questionnaires were marked by code so that, as they were returned, each could be identified with respect to certain sections of the city. Sections were arbitrarily determined after conferences with policemen, realtors, and letter carriers. The sections are listed as:

- (1) Down town
- (2) Rooming house
- (3) Housing project
- (4) Racially mixed areas
- (5) Medium-class homes
- (6) Better-class homes

Spokane can scarcely be said to have a slum area, although parts of the racially mixed district and housing project areas border on

¹ A copy of the questionnaire may be found in Appendix A.

the slum type. Because these areas are not very well defined, overlapping is unavoidable, but to residents of Spokane or anyone familiar with the city's pattern, such areas can be reasonably well determined.

Results from the questionnaires are given in percentages rather than tables as this method is usually better understood by the average reader than the more complicated forms of technical statistical analysis. The questionnaire was distributed approximately a month before the close of World War II. With the sudden close of the war, many abrupt changes were taking place, which, the investigator felt, necessitated a re-check of attitudes. Therefore, a small sampling of approximately three hundred additional questionnaires was distributed in areas similar to those already described. This distribution was made approximately one month after the close of the war with Japan. Results showed no substantial differences in attitudes towards Negroes, but results obtained where Japanese were concerned showed a change in attitude favorable to the Japanese.²

The investigator is aware that the questionnaire has many faults and the results obtained are not *necessarily* reliable, so that attention should be called to the more important weakness of it. The questionnaires show an overbalancing in age, home ownership, and sex (female 54%) by those individuals who answered them, though the latter is not sufficiently large to be statistically significant. As to age, home owners tend to be the older, more conservative people; hence it seems reasonable to conclude that the degree of liberality of the total population should be higher than is indicated by such a conservative over-age group. Because Spokane is not a defense center where many younger persons have gone for employment, one finds a larger number of older persons in this area than in the total population of the United States. The above conclusion was further supported by results obtained from the Army housing projects which are made up exclusively, or almost exclusively, from Army personnel. It is also observed that home owners are likely to be more conservative than renters, inasmuch as they have permanent "roots" in the community. Renters and roomers, for the most part, may im-

² These data are analyzed in "Racial Tension among Japanese in the Intermountain Northwest," an article appearing in the *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society*, in *Research Studies of The State College of Washington*, XIV (1946), pp. 145-50.

prove their undesirable conditions by moving, usually at no loss, but owners often face severe losses if they choose to move. Whether the differences in male and female attitudes are important was not determined. As is clearly indicated by results of the questionnaires, business men are more conservative if situations are predominantly economic, whereas women make social relations paramount.

There is a tendency for persons answering a questionnaire to give replies which seem to be correct in the light of the study being made; however, this may be as nearly correct as the formal interview, for those interviewed often refuse to admit difference of personal opinion on points that are academically established. In informal interviews, attitudes are best revealed by chance or side remarks; therefore both formal and informal interviews were used in this study. However, the latter seems much more acceptable so far as determining prejudice is concerned. Persons indifferent to the problem under consideration are less likely to accept questionnaires, or to answer them, even though they may have originally accepted them, than are the highly opinionated on either end of the scale. The latter are more likely to accept the questionnaires as well as to return them.

In addition to using results obtained from the questionnaires, the writer spent six weeks interviewing 176 individuals and groups in the Spokane area on topics covered in this study. Persons in all types of business were included. Someone in each field of business who was in a position to state policy was interviewed. In cases where administration was a consideration, opinions of both employer and employee were obtained if possible. Special cases of discrimination were carefully studied in order to determine causes of friction. A number of these cases are described anonymously in the body of the study.

HOUSING AND HOUSING FACILITIES

The place one lives is important in his total life. In America the house in which one lives is not only a needed shelter, but has come to be a symbol of status. Personal relationships are frequently carried on with those who live nearby, as Americans are still influenced by the rural and small town "folksy" ideas of yesteryears. In the city today are a large number of people who were reared on farms or in small towns, and the attitudes and patterns developed in childhood

carry over to their later life in expressions of approval or disapproval of neighbors. Hence the importance of housing as it relates to racial discrimination.

In general, dwellings owned or rented by Japanese and Negroes are old and inadequate. This situation results from the restriction of sales to older housing districts of the city from which other races have moved out. No new units are available to these racial groups unless they are located in segregated or concentration areas. Land values in such areas are high, thus helping to eliminate Japanese or Negroes as prospective builders. Mortgage firms are not interested in soliciting or supporting loans to these racial groups for building, though they may be anxious to secure loans from whites, or may even advertise for them. Such companies are unwilling to finance any kind of project for Negroes or Japanese.

No first-class apartments in the city are available to Negroes. Only run-down or third-rate dwellings that have been abandoned by whites and remodeled to be used as apartments may be secured. (There are no apartments in Spokane available to Japanese.) Those offered to Negroes are small, untidy, and frequently unfit for habitation. None of the larger and better-known apartments sampled had ever had Negro or Japanese applicants. Operators were of the opinion that should members of these groups apply for rentals, they would be told politely that no vacancies existed. Managers of many apartment houses in Spokane will not rent to Caucasians who have Negro or Japanese maids. Several apartment operators also refuse to rent to people of Jewish descent if they are aware of their ancestry. Should such persons secure a rental and they are found later to be Jewish, contracts seldom are renewed after the original date of termination.

All of the large-apartment-house owners interviewed had no official policy of prohibiting persons of color from renting units, usually denying that such persons had ever made application. Operators were on record as bitterly opposed to a practice of allowing mixed rentals. All apartment-house owners or operators interviewed thought the answer to the racial problem, as far as housing was concerned, was segregation.

About one-fifth of Spokane's Negro population is now living in one of the several housing projects, all of which are of a very tem-

porary nature. These projects were studied separately from other housing in Spokane, inasmuch as much difficulty has arisen over the question of permitting all races to live together in them. This accounts for a separate discussion and conclusion for each project.

The Coplen Park Project, situated in Northeast Spokane, has been the source of much unfavorable comment and action regarding racial segregation. A careful sampling of the residents showed that 52 per cent of the people living in the project did not know whether Japanese had homes there or not. All but 3 per cent of the residents were aware that Negroes lived in the project. It is the opinion of the investigator that someone who had more or less administrative authority was instrumental in encouraging unfavorable attitudes toward placing Japanese in the project. At the time of the study there were approximately two hundred units in the project that were unoccupied, although numbers of Japanese railroad workers were eligible to live in these units. Interviews with the managing personnel did not reveal why these people were refused living quarters other than, "It just won't work to put them in here." Early in the study the investigator was informed that the official policy as decreed in Washington, D.C., did not allow Japanese in this project, but later responsible persons in that city denied any connection with, or any influence in, determining the policies of the project. At the period when pressures were being exerted by various organizations to allow Japanese to live in the project, rumors of the vilest sort against Japanese were widespread among the people. The source of these rumors could not be checked, but evidence pointed to their having been intentionally spread by persons who were well informed of the operation of the project.

An effort was made through questionnaire and interview to determine the attitudes of the people living in the project toward Japanese and Negroes. On the basis of answers to the questionnaire, 83.2 per cent had no objection to living in a project with racial groups, but 23.2 per cent of non-objectors stated that, if the project were a permanent group, they would object. As far as the results of the questionnaire revealed, there was little appreciable difference in the attitude of these persons toward Negroes and Japanese. A few more persons preferred living with Japanese than Negroes. Of those answering the questionnaire, 10.2 per cent thought it more necessary

to segregate the Negro than the Japanese, though many qualified their answers by stating that they had never lived near Japanese.

In the Coplen Park Project only 4.1 per cent of the people wanted their children to attend separate schools. As far as children were concerned, little or no friction was reported by the different racial groups living in the project. (The few Negroes in the Coplen Park Project are actually segregated within the project.) The occasional fights between children did not seem to occur with any greater proportionate frequency between Negroes and whites than between whites of different groups.

It is obvious that much of the objection to Japanese in the Coplen Park Project came from the people of the surrounding territory. The Hillyard community appears to be more prejudiced than other areas of Spokane. This area has a small newspaper which has actively campaigned against racial groups. Whether this was important as a factor in the total amount of prejudice could not be determined, though the investigator is of the opinion that its total influence was unimportant. The objection of the people of the Hillyard community was not only to Japanese, but to Negroes and "low-class" whites as well. Many complaints were made by business men relative to petty thievery and the unwillingness of parents to accept responsibilities in such matters. A sample of the population revealed that 37.1 per cent objected to Japanese living in the area, 39.2 per cent to Negroes, and 23.2 per cent to Jews. As a whole, however, more people objected to the Japanese as a race than to Negroes or Jews. In this category were 53.5 per cent who disliked the Japanese most; 28.1 per cent the Negroes; and 18.4 per cent the Jews. Among those who had lived in the West Coast region before World War II, 78.4 per cent objected to Japanese, 12.6 per cent Negroes, and 9.1 per cent to Jews; whereas among those who had migrated from the East, South, and Middle West, 24.2 per cent objected most to Japanese, 51.1 per cent to Negroes, and 24.7 per cent to Jews. These figures indicate a consciousness of the problem only as it exists in a particular area. Evidently people react differently when faced with the actual situation of living with a particular racial group as compared with a verbal statement of what they would do under similar circumstances. To such persons the theoretical issue is not as important as the reality of living with them.

In summarizing conditions in the Coplen Park Project and the surrounding area, the writer believes much of the antagonism against other races is due to the particular type of people who live in this district. Many of them are laborers who are conscious that racial groups compete for their jobs and might, consequently, upset the economic equilibrium of their lives. As a group they have less formal education and are more inclined to be superstitious and "set" in their beliefs than the average group of Spokane. At the time of the study, this was the principal tension area in the Spokane district. The investigator believes the project could include Japanese with as little friction as Negroes, if not less. There are no indications that, if proper management of the project could be secured, the addition of Japanese would encourage acts of violence. He believes that the people in the area surrounding the project would find Japanese more acceptable after association with them than certain groups of both colored and white who now live either in the project or nearby. A federally sponsored project such as Coplen Park has no legal right to practice racial discrimination or segregation.

At the Victory Heights Project, which is chiefly for Army personnel, altogether different conditions were found. In this project no discrimination is practiced, and here Caucasians, Japanese, and Negroes are living together without any reported difficulties. Of the persons answering the questionnaire in this project, 94.3 per cent had no objection to living in the same unit with racial groups, and only 5.4 per cent thought Negroes should be segregated, whereas 2.7 per cent had similar opinions about Japanese.

A check by interview with the management revealed that federal policies demand that racial groups not be segregated. No individual was found who had serious objection to living in the same unit, although some of those interviewed originally had objected when first located in the project, or had first learned of the no-discrimination racial policies. On the playgrounds no trouble had arisen though children of all races played together under the supervision of a director.

The basic difference in attitudes of the people in the two projects may be explained by a number of reasons. In the first place, the Victory Heights Project is generally filled with Army personnel which has an unusually rapid turnover, and, if occupants should be dissatisfied with conditions, they often rationalize, saying that it is

only a temporary location. A second reason lies in the fact that the housing shortage in Spokane is serious, and conditions are tolerated when ordinarily objection would be voiced. Third, it seems that better-educated, better-adjusted, and more economically secure people live in this project. Fourth, the management of the project is efficient as well as alert to the possibilities of developing problems, and, instead of a policy of fear of racial violence as claimed by the operators of Coplen Park Project, here the management has encouraged co-operation of racial groups. Fifth, there has been no discernible interference of vested interests in the Victory Heights Project. Sixth, in the latter project the physical appearance is more conducive to easing natural strains and tensions than in the former. Seventh, because the Victory Heights Project is so located that residential areas are little affected, little or no effort has been made by the personnel of the surrounding community to interfere in the operation of the project. This project is evidence that racial groups can, and do, live together without riots and violence. Those responsible for the successful operation of this project should be commended for their achievement in this area.

In privately sponsored projects, the discrimination is even more bitter than those controlled by governmental agencies or by the Defense Plants Corporation. Owners and managers of these projects will not sell property to a person of color, nor will they sell to whites without writing into the deed a restrictive clause forbidding the purchaser to sell to people of color. Two amusing incidents have arisen in connection with one of these projects. On one occasion a woman came to buy a house, promising to pay cash for it. When the deal had been closed and she was in the act of transferring the money, the agent noticed dark children in the car with a Negro man. He became suspicious and, upon further investigation of the case, told her that after a reconsideration of her application it had been rejected. This woman made no further efforts to purchase property from the company. A second case presented a more unhappy situation for the company sponsoring the sale of these properties. A sale was made to an Indian family without the company's agent recognizing that the buyers were of Mongoloid descent. Though the deed specifically stated that only Caucasians could buy these properties, the officials, on later discovering the race of the buyers, did not dare contest the sale already made, as the family had proved themselves

one of the most popular in the neighborhood. The sales manager was anxious to keep the real identity of the man hidden lest other persons of color demand the privileges accorded this Indian. Owners of such private projects are interested primarily in the money to be made from their investments and are ready to exclude any factor that might conceivably reduce the profits to the company.

Home owners in Spokane prefer racial segregation, for, according to the questionnaire, 78 per cent believe the races should be segregated by order of the City Council. This is probably a technique used to fulfill a desire to protect one's property, as the average white believes that a person of another race moving into an area automatically lowers the value of the property. Owners are often willing to use any means at hand in order to prevent persons of color from moving into the area, seeking only to remain within the bounds of the law. That not all cases have an unhappy ending, however, is evidenced by the following. A few years ago a Negro family bought property and moved into one of the "better" residential areas of the city. The local community leaders called a mass meeting with the avowed intention of taking steps to force the removal of these people from the district. When the people were assembled, no one knew what steps to take, and after a long, ineffective discussion they returned home. It has later developed that some of those persons who were most aggressive in seeking the ouster of the Negroes are now their best friends. In this case, contrary to the expectation of whites, the value of property did not go down.

The questionnaire revealed that 64.3 per cent of the population thought they would attempt to sell property if a Negro bought next door, and only 5.2 per cent fewer stated that they would follow the same course if such a person bought in the same block or the block across the street. The percentage was noticeably less for the Japanese, for only 48.6 per cent of white owners thought they would sell should an Oriental move into the same block. For the Jews, the percentage was as high as for Japanese, the actual figure being 49.5 per cent.

These data from the questionnaire are by no means conclusive, inasmuch as they are heavily overweighted with older persons, who perhaps are more conservative than the average. Yet the results are sufficient to indicate that a certain degree of prejudice exists in Spokane. One cannot ignore the attitudes of these home owners, as they

control to a large degree the social functions of Spokane and, therefore, more or less determine cultural patterns. Such findings indicate that a long, tedious, and careful program of education will be necessary if Spokane's colored population is not eventually to be segregated.

Negroes own homes in almost every section of Spokane, and little or no trouble has been encountered in many areas where they live. Most of these dwellings were purchased years ago, or have been bought direct from the owner, who, in the event of objection by whites, was willing to vouch for the character of the Negro to whom the sale was made.

Interviews with the representatives of the Spokane Valley Realty Board and prominent realtors disclose the existence of a policy of restricted sale of property to Japanese and Negroes. Such restriction confines the sale by any member of the Realty Board to Negroes and Japanese to segregated areas arbitrarily agreed upon by the Spokane Realty Board. This policy is based upon the National Code of Ethics for Realtors, which is a portion of the By-laws of the local organization. In part, they read as follows:

Part III. Article 34—CODE OF ETHICS—A realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property of occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any persons whose presence will be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood.

Article III—BY-LAWS—Duty of Members to Public: It shall be unethical for any member to be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or use, occupancy or ownership of property, or any individual whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood. No instruction from any client or customer, except such as shall be applicable to changes of zone under the Zoning Ordinance of the City of Spokane, shall relieve the member from his responsibility strictly to observe this Article. Complaints for violations of this Article shall not be considered unless filed with the Spokane Realty Board within ninety (90) days after the introduction into a neighborhood of the character of property, use, occupancy, or ownership of property, member of the race or nationality, or individuals, to which objection is made. The Board of Directors shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations, not inconsistent herewith, to effectuate the object of this Section.

At present no Japanese can buy property in Spokane unless the sale is reviewed by a special board set up by the Spokane Realty Board for that purpose. Whether this is true for Negroes depends upon the area in which they wish to buy. If the purchase is in an area already open to Negroes, the case requires no review.

Real estate men expressed a willingness to adopt a policy of unrestricted sale of property to Negroes and Japanese as soon as the public would permit it to be carried out. All dealers interviewed were in favor of such a policy, as it would expedite their business, eliminating much of the present "red tape." It does not seem that the real estate men are particularly interested in segregating the people of color, just for the sake of segregation, but rather that present policies cause them inconveniences and are likely to lead to difficulties. Quite a few will assist and encourage both Negroes and Japanese in the purchase of property so that they may avoid contacts with the Realty Board.

Realtors also expressed the belief that many Negroes and Japanese who have bought homes are making an effort to improve their property, take pride in ownership, and that such improvements had often advanced the price of property in segregated or semi-segregated districts. Yet all realtors offered the argument of depreciation of property value with the introduction of Japanese or Negro ownership to justify continuation of a policy of semi-segregation. A number admit the probability that depreciation of property values results from white owners lowering the price of their property as these racial groups come into their neighborhood. This same policy is carried out with respect to Jews, but it is much less pronounced. Many dealers believed sale of property to Jews has an even more noticeable effect on the property owners than a sale to Negroes or Japanese. It is probable that these real estate dealers have had only a few transactions with Negroes and Japanese, but many with Jews. This may account for much of their bias.

LABOR

Theoretically, national labor organizations set up policies that are put into effect by local unions. The national organization of the Congress for Industrial Organization and the American Federation of Labor have adopted policies of nondiscrimination in the treatment of individuals because of race, creed, color, or sex. For a number of years at Annual Conventions these organizations have defined and reaffirmed their positions in relation to racial issues. Such positions have been strengthened from time to time in favor of racial groups, especially the Negro, though during World War II years, the Japa-

nese suffered, not by direct action being taken against them, but by silence of the national labor organizations on this question.

The following is the declaration of policy reaffirmed by the 1944 Conventions :

The American Federation of Labor—

The founders of the American Federation since inception were opposed to any prejudices, traditions, social, or religious demarcations which could be applied to interfere with, or prevent thorough-going organization of all wage earners. The right to work, or membership in a trade union should not be limited or restricted in any manner because of creed, race or color.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations—

The Congress of Industrial Organizations again reaffirms its unwavering opposition to discrimination against Negro people or the people of any other minority [Note the Negro is singled out at a minority, but others are placed in a common category "Minority." This appears to be a political move on the part of the Congress for Industrial Organization which seems to have been reasonably successful, for most Negroes feel the Congress for Industrial Organization is very fair to them and they in turn support it loyally, though in actuality discriminations are frequent] The Congress for Industrial Organization urges [a weak word] all affiliated unions to renewed vigilance against any form of racial discrimination, against all conditions that make fertile grounds for such discriminations

We recommend that the Congress for Industrial Organization unions seek the incorporation into collective bargaining agreements a provision that no person seeking employment shall be discriminated against because of creed, race, color, or place of origin. [The last statement should protect Japanese who were born under the Japanese flag, but actually is only a token statement, as will be shown later]

The expressed policies of the Congress for Industrial Organization and the American Federation of Labor leave no room for any doubt as to the position of these labor groups as opposing any form of discrimination against either the Negro or Japanese, but it must be kept in mind that such affirmations as the above are a far cry from putting them into practice by local unions. These national organizations do not necessarily determine the policies of local unions, for some local unions are not affiliated with the national body and those affiliated are not "duty bound" to carry out the recommendations of the national body; though such an affiliation presupposes that national policies will be followed, nonetheless, the autonomous determination by each of a policy, such as racial discrimination, is reserved. A number of the Spokane "locals" of both unions have left the matter a moot question, with no stand taken either for or against

the racial question, though no international union group interviewed still retained this right. A few unions have opened their ranks to all groups—by which are meant Negroes, and not Japanese.

The race issue is frequently the most obvious aspect of an economic realignment of forces. With the relocation of the Japanese and the appearance of "new" Negroes in the Spokane area, general resentment has arisen in many groups. For example, with respect to the Japanese, florists are aroused; with Negroes, resentment has arisen among cooks and waiters. All these groups fear racial minorities will become a large permanently established working class in their occupations, so that social, political, and economic realignments consequent to this will be forced. It is the same pattern that forced the fight against the West Coast Japanese, particularly in the San Francisco and Los Angeles areas, where these people were gardening and marketing their products co-operatively.

Discrimination is practiced in many ways in the union labor markets of Spokane. Sometimes Negroes are denied the right to join unions or even to work under their jurisdiction, and Japanese are consistently refused work opportunities. With respect to the Japanese, the "excuse" given was that fear of retardation of the war effort forced them to refuse Japanese work, even though they might be as loyal as anyone else. Since the war is over, other "excuses" will have to be found, and these are likely to be similar to those now offered against the Negro. Unions generally will not admit discrimination against groups, but "off the record" confess to numerous devices to keep the labor organizations "lily-white." The statement most frequently given for refusal to admit Negroes to membership was that, though the bulk of the membership did not object, Southerners who recently had come to this area always voted against membership privileges. After hearing this complaint from a number of unions, the investigator examined the records of three unions to determine the composition of the membership. It was found that one union had no Southern-born members and that the others had only two and four, respectively. The investigator believes that most Southerners who come West and North understand the pattern of Negro-white relationships and accept it without reservations, knowing that they will only draw unfavorable attention by persistent objection to Negroes as regards matters of equality. It seems unfair, therefore, for native-born whites to assert that their unwillingness

to accept Negroes into the unions is due to a few ignorant, powerless Southern whites. The composition of Spokane's population for the last several decades is not made up to any extent of migrants from the South, but rather from other areas of the United States, namely, the Plains and Middle Western States.

Another common way of excluding minorities from work, both in and out of the unions, is to tell applicants that no work is available. This is very effective if the applicant goes "on his own" to apply for the job. To job-seekers, nothing closes the chance of employment like the "no work available" statement. An excellent example of this type of discrimination is shown by one of the railroads, which during the national advertising campaign for skilled railroad workers gave as a reason for failure to employ, "No work available in this particular job," to a Negro railroad brakeman with fifteen years' experience, though, at the time pressures were being exerted on the Federal Government to take men out of the Armed Services to meet demands of the railroads for skilled workmen.

Another common way of excluding applications of racial groups for work is to notify these job-seekers that they do not meet qualifications, or did not pass certain qualification tests. This technique is effective with Japanese, as language is a particular barrier to many of them. With the Negro, it is less effective and less widely practiced, because employers and labor unions fear repercussions from such organizations as the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

The use of pressure groups to keep the Negroes or Japanese out of the Spokane area, or from employment in certain industries, is not unknown. A local war plant had planned to bring several hundred Negroes into Spokane for employment in a most essential war industry, but powerful objections were voiced by a local service club, which "put the bee" on the war-plant personnel director and succeeded in having the whole project withdrawn. Such discriminations are extremely vicious, for one cannot easily punish organizations which use such undercover methods. In discussing the case with union leaders, the investigator found them obviously well pleased with the whole matter, one official summing it up by saying, "Such action really saved our necks, for it would have been necessary for us to have stopped them if others had not."

A less-used weapon of discrimination is the strike or threat of strike. In at least one instance, a labor union threatened to strike if

Japanese were employed. The investigator believes, however, that such a threat was only a tool used to keep minority groups out of the unions, and that few, if any, of the laborers would have dared to carry out these threats, lest public opinion condemn them. At least, this represented the attitude of the majority of those interviewed. Employers who are racially prejudiced not infrequently encourage labor to use such threats and are ready to use them when pressed for an answer on the question of refusal to employ Negroes and Japanese. These policies are used by both union and non-union employers, who almost universally "pass the buck" to the employees.

A few of the ninety odd unions in Spokane, embracing some 15,000 members, though denying membership to Japanese and Negroes, do issue to them labor permits and allow them to work under the jurisdiction of the union. Payment of fees in such situations varies, some of the organizations requiring no fee.

The workers who are employed under such conditions may have local Auxiliaries in accordance with provisions of its international constitution. Policies of unions toward auxiliaries is set forth in Herbert P. Northrup's *Organized Labor and the Negro* (p. 213):

The Boilermakers and Shipbuilders, which has 65 per cent of the AFL shipyard workers under its jurisdiction, has altered its rules. The exclusionist clause remains in its ritual, but its 1937 convention authorized the union executive council to establish Negro auxiliary locals. Members of Negro auxiliaries pay the same dues as do white members, but in every other conceivable manner they are discriminated against. Negro auxiliaries are established by fiat of the executive council, and may be peremptorily dis-established by it; they can only be organized where a white local exists, and they are under the supervision of the nearest white local. Negroes can transfer only to other auxiliaries; they have no voice in union conventions or other union policy making bodies; Negro auxiliaries are not permitted a business agent, but must depend upon the business agent of the supervising white local for jobs; they are not permitted a grievance committee, and are allowed only inadequate and ineffective representation on the supervising white local's committee; they receive only one-half as much in death and disability benefits as do white members, and Negroes are not eligible to participate in the union's voluntary insurance plans; only Negro auxiliary members may be fined for "intoxication or creating a disturbance" in a union meeting; whereas whites between the ages of 16 and 70 are eligible to membership, only Negroes between the ages of 16 and 60 may join the auxiliary; and the worst of all: Negroes may not be employed as apprentices, and no Negro may be promoted to a higher classification unless he receives first, the approval of his auxiliary local, second, the approval of the supervising white local, and third, the approval of the international union president! It is surely a serious question

whether an auxiliary with such by-laws constitutes an improvement over complete exclusion

In the recent organization of one of the larger hotels, the employer would not agree to a policy of discrimination against Japanese waiters and cooks, the result being that these minority persons were accepted into the union without complaint and have attended meetings without incident. Leaders of this union who had formerly been opposed to such a practice expressed satisfaction over the results of the experiment. In another union, however, a Japanese type-setter was refused membership after Pearl Harbor, though Japanese actually had been members of the union for over twenty years. In fact, some of the Japanese had been active in the organization of this union and had held membership continuously until the Pearl Harbor incident. No consistent pattern is followed by any of the unions, but the investigator believes that the American Federation of Labor is generally more liberal with the Japanese than the Negro, and the Congress for Industrial Organization is more liberal with Negroes than Japanese, though this is by no means a hard and fast rule.

A number of union leaders frankly discussed the problem, admitting different attitudes would be necessary in the future from those prevailing at present. Union leaders have recently considered altering their policies and felt that in the near future a much more liberal attitude, especially toward the Japanese, would be shown. Recently Dave Beck, Teamster Union leader of Seattle, has changed his former position against Nisei belonging to his union. This may presage a general change in Japanese-Caucasian relationships as far as unions are concerned. Others admitted that practices such as refusal to vote on applications by tabling them would have to be discontinued, because minority groups were learning of their rights and would demand them. The leader of a Decorators' Union said, "We've been holding a Japanese application for membership for months without action. This cannot continue and now that the war is closed, I feel that it must have consideration, and it wouldn't surprise me at all, if it received favorable consideration."

There are evidences that labor has made much progress in the last few years, and the number of unions that practice open discrimination are fewer in number each year. (This was not true concerning the Japanese during World War II.) No one will deny that unions have shown a leadership that has been lacking in other community

groups That Negroes and Japanese hold membership in as large a number of unions as they do shows that effective effort has been put forth by someone. Education of the membership of the various local unions by officers and other leaders as to the legitimacy and decency of the stated policies of both the Congress for Industrial Organization and the American Federation of Labor will be helpful. Influences also will have to come from other phases of community life that affect the opinions of individuals. Such organizations as the Council on Racial Relations or other civic-service clubs must give thought and action to a program of non-discrimination.

The investigator is convinced that not much progress will be made in the elimination of discrimination against Negroes and Japanese in the labor movement until the union, employer, and public take equal interest in the problem to bring it about, none of which has as yet made a concerted effort to eliminate the problem.

The policy of the federal government with respect to the employment of persons of color is set forth in Executive Order No. 9346 issued by President Roosevelt on May 27, 1943. This order came as a result of frequent complaints, especially by Negroes, that they were being discriminated against in employment in federal jobs, war industries, and other controlled government work. This order is very detailed, but the short excerpt that follows will give the general policies:

As President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of any person in war industries or in government by reason of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers, including the several departments and agencies, and all labor organizations, in furtherance of this policy and of this Order to eliminate discrimination in regard to hire, tenure, terms or conditions of employment, or union membership because of race, creed, color, or national origin

As far as can be determined there is little or no discrimination practiced by most of the federal agencies. The investigator believes that the Executive Order 9346 has been carried out by the majority of those in authority, inasmuch as no case is on record of the intervention of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, a group designed to look into discriminations where the federal government is concerned.

It is admitted by leaders of the Civil Service Commission that it is difficult, if not impossible, to detect certain discriminations due to the prejudice of supervisors. When three names are certified by the commission to the supervisor who is to fill the position, an opportunity is presented for discrimination, for the supervisor may reject Negroes or Japanese persons in favor of Caucasians. Though heads of agencies may be technically in favor of fair treatment of minority peoples, they can do little to keep such a practice in control as it filters down to supervisors. No complaints were uncovered in the Spokane area. It should be mentioned that both Japanese and Negroes have worked, and are working, under Civil Service in this area, though the numbers are inconsiderable.

Therefore, from interviews and other obtained data, it is difficult to conclude that the non-discrimination policy in employment of people of color by Federal Government agencies is carried out, irrespective of a uniformly announced policy to this effect. Many of the agencies investigated report no Negroes or Japanese employed, and give as the reason the lack of proper qualifications of these persons to fulfill the responsibilities of the job in question, or state that such persons have never applied. That such persons often do not meet qualifications cannot be questioned, and, of course, if no applications have been made, no argument can be made against discrimination. It should be noted that more than one responsible person interviewed believed that, if concerted attempts were made to find persons of color who were particularly qualified for vacant positions, some type of discrimination would probably evolve. These same men believe that, if such persons were carefully sought, a much larger number could be employed than now serve in these agencies. But this could also be said of private business, if there were a will on the part of business to seek them out.

It is important that local prejudices of different groups may influence the activity of an individual after official appointment. If such people as may be approached by the civil servant refuse to work with him, this must be taken into consideration by the appointing agencies in all future appointments. Supervisors and heads of agencies were insistent upon the point that public opinion must be changed before a satisfactory condition can exist and allow these agencies to do what has been demanded of them by executive order.

The city of Spokane theoretically has a policy of non-discrimi-

nation, but, if the number of Negroes working under the civil service for the city is any indication, then discrimination does exist, for few persons of color are employed by the city. A policeman whose service had been accepted for years was fired after it was learned he was of partial Negro descent. He was fired for "other reasons" than being a Negro, but officials had "looked for" an opportunity to remove him. After much bickering and a hearing, he was reinstated. Announcements are periodically made that Negroes and Japanese may take examinations, yet officials admitted that the intention was not to appoint Negroes or Japanese, but that, if announcement was made of their eligibility for examination, it was an excellent way to cover up real practices and make it "seem fair on the surface."

In employment of labor outside the organized and civil service groups, different policies are evident. A few general rules may be given, but under varying conditions most of these are broken. As a rule, no Negroes and very few Japanese are hired to serve customers "over the counter." No Negroes were found selling goods or collecting money for goods sold in Caucasian establishments, and only two Japanese were found in positions of this type. This does not include serving food to customers, but does include taking money for food served. Some restaurant owners declared that they preferred Negro waiters to white but could not fill their requirements with an all-black staff and, therefore, believed that, if it was not possible to have all-colored staffs, they should generally refrain from mixing the groups. Two establishments—one for meals, one for drinks—employ all Negro staffs. Negro girls are never employed as stenographers or typists in white establishments, but many firms hire Japanese and are usually very complimentary of the work they do. It can be said that only jobs where they may not be seen by the public or those that require "dirty work" are open to Negroes. This is not always true for Japanese, especially in jobs where heavy work is necessary. It is not necessarily due to prejudice against races, but may be the result of a belief that Japanese cannot long maintain a job that requires a maximum of physical effort.

Attitudes of employers vary as much as do those of unions. Some employers will take no Negro or Japanese help, regardless of need or type of work to be done. Others seek out Negroes for certain types of jobs. Pay for Negroes and Japanese in such non-union jobs is usually considerably less than that paid to white workers for simi-

lar work. This discrimination can be maneuvered, for it inflates the ego of whites and may be used as a threat of dismissal of colored persons, should they object. Employers also use the threat of dismissal of colored persons to secure more work and longer hours from them than from whites. Moreover, conditions under which colored persons, particularly Negroes, work are extremely bad, but again the colored man does not dare complain, lest he lose his job. Once a colored man has obtained a job, much of his time is spent "pleasing the boss," lest he lose his precious means of livelihood. Many Negroes and a few Japanese dare not ask for raises in pay for this reason. Two cases were found where there had been no raise in hourly wages in over ten years.

The results from the questionnaire revealed that 62 per cent of the people had no objection to working with either Negroes or Japanese, if they were of equal educational level, but 82 per cent objected to working under them. The objections given varied. Some felt that the Negroes were inferior persons and, if given jobs of responsibility, would "lord it over the white" and become unmanageable. Others admitted it was only prejudice, and, because it had never been customary, they preferred not to break the custom. A few believed that, if such practices were allowed, colored groups would demand social equality, which, according to one social leader, was "something impossible to grant." Caucasians are verbally liberal in the matter of equal pay for equal work done, 87.2 per cent stating that Negroes and Japanese should have the same pay as whites under similar conditions. Many of those objecting to equal pay did so on the ground that these racial groups could live more cheaply—especially the Japanese, who, it was frequently stated, could "live on a bowl of rice for days." Many of those questioned think Negroes would only "waste their money, if they received equal pay, for as yet they are not able to spend intelligently." Even in the face of such irrational reasons as those given above, the investigator believes the general public is more ready to accept minority peoples of color for "what they are worth" than are business and industry. There is irrefutable evidence that business refuses to accept them because they find in these groups an excellent opportunity for exploitation. It is the same principle that is used by the Southern plantation owner "to keep the 'Nigger' in his place."

A similar conclusion must be drawn with unorganized labor as with organized, but the difficulties with respect to determining the amount of discrimination are more pronounced. Until all persons, including laborers, employers, and the general public, show a willingness to put away preconceived ideas about races and accept all people upon their ability to perform, there will probably be no widespread improvement of employer-employee relationships for colored people. As long as the public tolerates and encourages segregation of these groups in labor, just that long will the employer, as a rule, take advantage of the opportunity it offers to him to practice exploitation of colored minorities.

BUSINESS AND MERCHANDISING

In business circles, both Negroes and Japanese are operating under severe handicaps. Operators from either racial group are relegated to an undesirable section of the city. Whether this undesirable section developed because of these groups or was already present to receive them, is not determined. At any rate, it is extremely difficult for Negroes and Japanese to secure business locations or operate business enterprises other than in those substandard areas. The businesses operated by Negroes are limited to restaurants, amusement houses, and undercover "joints"; Japanese may operate hotels, bakeries, produce houses, and home laundries.

The following is a total of the number of licenses issued to Japanese and Negroes, as of September 1, 1945:

<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Negroes</i>
(23) Hotels	(7) Restaurants
(10) Restaurants	(1) Pool Hall
(1) Bakery	(1) Amusement Hall
(3) Produce Houses	
(23) Hand Laundries	
(1) Dye Works	

Japanese have difficulty securing operating licenses for businesses, though previous to Pearl Harbor this was not true. Following the outbreak of the war, it was hard for Japanese-Americans to secure licenses, and aliens were excluded altogether. At the time of this study several officials expressed themselves as uncertain about policies to pursue concerning licenses since the close of the war. It was the opinion of most of those officials that a relaxation of regula-

tions would come in the near future. To Negroes, licenses are also issued reluctantly. The reasons given were that (1) they were irresponsible, (2) they kept dirty houses, (3) they were sources of disturbance, and (4) granting a license would encourage additional Negroes to come to Spokane. Whether these are legitimate reasons was not determined.

Whites patronize Negro establishments only in rare instances, but no stigma is attached to trading with Japanese. After the investigator had sought an interview from the operator of a Negro amusement hall, the police appeared to ask why he had been in such a place. Later the Negro operator told the investigator that the same policeman had him verify the investigator's story. Police explain that they must be extremely careful concerning establishments frequented by whites, inasmuch as trouble often results.

Japanese business houses may have the bulk of their trade with whites, and many Japanese establishments prefer Caucasian patrons to Orientals. They believe the presence of other Orientals calls the attention of the public to their racial differences. Furthermore, Japanese assert that whites are less inclined to seek favors of them than is their own race. This problem has increased acutely since the relocation of the Japanese from the Centers has left many stranded without work or means of support.

No particular violence has been reported by business operators during the last few months. Some threats were received by businessmen immediately after the declaration of war on Japan, but these could not be traced to responsible sources. Japanese say that such threats were the work of vandals and hoodlums. Before the war two Japanese had operated in the "better" business section without serious objection, but unusual circumstances, not necessarily connected with racial discrimination, forced the closing of their businesses. Negroes have never been able to secure business sites in the "main street section" of Spokane.

Retail stores do not usually discriminate against either Negroes or Japanese, selling to all alike. A few establishments which handle ready-to-wear clothing will not allow Negro women to try on clothes unless they are taken out of the store. A limited number of retail stores will not allow shoes to be tried on by Negroes in places where they can be seen by the general buying public. One of the more fashionable stores for ladies' ready-to-wear clothing requested members

of the visiting *Carmen Jones* troupe of thespians to leave the store as they did not cater to Negro trade. Such action must be considered unusual for Spokane. No incidents of this type were uncovered that involved Japanese, although window cards have appeared in a few stores in the last three years displaying such statements as "Japs Not Wanted," "No Rats (Japs) Here," or similar slogans. Investigation showed this to be work of the Anti-Pearl Harbor League. Persons promoting this type of activity made their appeals to individuals who usually had some reason to react emotionally against the Japanese. Two classes of persons were appealed to: (1) those who had lost near relatives in the war and (2) those directly affected by the Japanese in their economic life, such as florists or launderers. Stores displaying "Jap baiting" signs were avoided by Japanese, as plenty of the stores displayed no signs and appeared to welcome their business. Stores specializing in trade for women are more likely to show discrimination toward colored people than the ones patronized chiefly by men, or equally by both sexes.

A few businesses refuse Negro women the right to take articles from the store and return them, though Caucasians are given this privilege. No stores were found where Japanese women had sought this privilege, but floor managers believed they would be accorded the favor if they were good customers. When asked his store's policy, one manager said, "You know Japanese are clean, in many cases actually cleaner than whites." Again the implication is that the Negro is filthy. This point is further emphasized by two storekeepers who on different occasions had asked Negro women not to handle vegetables or fruit unless they purchased them. Such practices soon drove away the few Negroes who patronized the place. (Incidentally, the operator added that he would like to tell white women the same thing, but didn't dare.) He maintained that his request not to handle the produce was more for his own protection than prejudice against the Negro. He frequently asked children, either white or black, not to handle produce.

Inquiry was made of several credit men, representing large retail establishments in the city of Spokane, regarding credit policies of retail institutions with respect to Negro and Japanese trade. No announced policy of discrimination exists, although most credit managers admitted examining applications of colored people, especially Negroes, more closely than those of whites. If any question arose

about the application, it was rejected, whereas whites were frequently given credit, although their applications might not meet the highest requirements. Delinquent Negro accounts were closed more quickly than those of whites, and the garnishment of wages was usually resorted to sooner with Negroes than with whites.

Japanese do not ask for credit as often as do Negroes, and this investigation revealed no discrimination. Credit managers who dealt with Japanese expressed themselves as desiring more credit of this type.

RESTAURANT AND HOTEL SERVICE

Eating together has long been considered a base for complete acceptance of strangers. History abounds with examples of this social phenomenon. Where one's food is eaten and where he sleeps is closely associated in America with the social class to which he belongs. It may be said to be a sort of symbol of caste status. Many persons refuse to patronize less expensive hotels and restaurants lest they lose status, feeling that the more expensive places give them higher class standing. They desire to be seen dining or lodging at expensive establishments. Perhaps in no other field viewed by this survey are racial discriminations and prejudices so painstakingly observed as in these activities. Many persons appear to have little or no prejudice except in these contacts.

Those activities involving close personal contacts were the ones in which individuals expressed most prejudice toward racial groups. The degree of discriminations in personal relationship is expressed by the percentages as computed from the questionnaire. When asked if Negroes and Japanese should attend the same dances as whites, 77.3 per cent said no; 77.2 per cent thought mixed races should not swim in the same pools; 65.6 per cent said they should not stay at the same hotels; 60.7 per cent believed that they should have separate restaurants; and 49.7 per cent maintained separate theaters should be provided. A salesman in explaining his prejudice said, "I don't mind working next to them, or studying in the same schools, but eating is a different question. That is my own private life in which I should be allowed to make my own choices. If Negroes sit at separate tables in restaurants, I think I could stomach it, but counters and bars have no division. No, I'm against it." It appears that such a judgment relative to eating at the same restaurants represents general public opinion. No logical reasons are given,

but as our culture puts stress upon certain social activities, especially dining together, this attitude of discrimination persists.

In regard to staying at the same hotels as Negroes, a similar pattern exists and like attitudes are expressed, except for the age-old sex bugaboo. Actually, a large percentage of the population believes Negroes are oversexed, have a minimum of control over sex desires, and have extraordinary lust for Caucasian women. Regardless of the fallacies involved, if whites believe this to be true, it becomes as effective in actual practice as though it were. A "society" matron, when asked why she ate in restaurants with Negroes but objected to staying at the same hotels, replied, "Don't you know every woman is afraid of Negroes sexually? Why, they might attack a woman in a hotel on the least provocation. No, I don't want to stay in the same hotels with them." The investigator didn't consider it wise to disagree, but could have explained that not all white women have sexual fear of Negro men. She, like many others, would be "horri-fied" to know that such relations "are not out of this world."

Actual discrimination with reference to personal relations as practiced in this area defies an accurate description in a limited space. General rules for discrimination are not possible with such wide variations and diverse patterns. In an effort to analyze the situation, it seems necessary to discuss individual cases in order to show different types of discrimination. Like many other racial phenomena, the most outstanding characteristic of dining, lodging, and so forth, is its lack of consistency.

Negroes and Japanese may go into many first-class restaurants in Spokane under certain conditions. There appears to be no established policy among restaurants governing service to people of color. The adoption of such an official policy has not formally been acted upon by the Restaurant Owners Association, which is made up of owners and operators of the larger restaurants.

According to representatives of the Restaurant Owners Association, service to colored people is left to each individual owner. Opinion varies as to whether they shall serve such people or not. Few owners will ask Negroes to leave or do anything that will draw the attention of the public to difficulties met in connection with racial prejudices. Such instances, however, have not infrequently occurred. In cafeterias, service is usually to colored and white alike, because

it is difficult to practice discrimination with the type of service rendered at these eating places.

Managers or owners interviewed concerning their willingness to serve persons of color in their places of business did not openly admit denial of service to Negroes or Japanese. One popular restaurant manager stated that if the waiters would serve them, no question was raised by the management. If colored people are refused service by waiters, however, the manager expressed himself as hopeful that those persons refused would not make a "scene." In this particular restaurant, two Negro men were served in the dining room without incident. The waitress who served them was asked by one of her colleagues why she had waited on these men. Her reply was, "Certainly, they're human, ain't they? They gotta eat like anybody else." In this same restaurant two Negro girls entered and sat in a booth. The waitress worked her other three booths and ignored the Negroes. After waiting nearly an hour the Negro girls left the booth and sought out the hostess, demanding why they had not been served. The hostess referred them to the manager about the matter, but when they inquired for him, he was not in. The manager laughingly said, "I was really out that time, no fooling, but I certainly was glad they didn't come back next day as they had promised to do."

If Negroes wish to be served at the better-class dining rooms they may call and make arrangements beforehand, or ask in a patronizing manner on entering the place of business, whether or not they will be served. Usually arrangements for service may be made without difficulty. It seems that most trouble has arisen in those situations where Negroes, on entering places of business, have been loud, uncouth, or overzealous in their demands for "rights." Several of the Negro leaders of Spokane state that they can, and do, eat at any of the better-class restaurants whenever they desire.

More friction is apparent in the lower-class "joints" than in higher-class food emporiums. Frequently, the managers of these lower-class eating places report that customers who are sometimes intoxicated or partly so, being a repressed group, often seek any opportunity to gain status. Boisterous action, though condemned by many, gives them status at least in their own eyes, if not the eyes of their associates. Such persons often think illogically and may be inclined to translate every action by others as a personal affront to them,

rather than accept it as a general pattern of society. Negroes and Japanese who frequent such places are less likely to have that kind of training which encourages them to curb their emotions; hence where both groups are inclined to be aggressive and expressive of feelings, racial differences offer an excellent opportunity for open conflict when the emotions are stirred. For these, as well as other reasons, many "joints" refuse to serve both colored and white persons, though such discriminations are more frequent with Negroes than Japanese. These operators do not wish to be "mixed up with the law" and believe that, if Negroes are asked not to come into their places of business, a more satisfactory result is likely to be achieved than to try to control them once they are inside. Besides, it should be kept in mind that restaurateurs are in business to make money, and as one operator said, "You let one Negro come in; tomorrow there will be two; the next day four; and so on, until finally your place of business gets to be known around town as a 'nigger joint.' When such stories go the rounds, white trade soon will leave. Negro trade in Spokane is small and a fellow can't let a few of them drive him out of business." Expressions of this kind cannot be brushed aside. Many restaurant operators do not object to Negroes and Japanese eating in their places, but must cater to the public's wishes to survive. Therefore the problem resolves itself into something more than racial improvement groups and rumor-mongers chasing here and there to find which operators will or will not feed racial groups, and then castigating those who do not allow Negroes in their places of business. It rather becomes an undertaking to educate all to such a level of intelligence that persons who patronize restaurants will understand racial difference is not a sign of superiority. Business men whose basic interests are gain are anxious for profit regardless of the racial group from which it is derived.

Both the Caucasian and colored races are likely to be at fault in these racial situations. Caucasians take advantage of the position they hold as a majority people and are inclined to press "the crown down a little too tight" where those who are helpless are involved. Yet Negroes (no Japanese were guilty of this conduct) often go beyond the bounds of reason in pressing for their "rights." The following story is illustrative of this point. In a railroad station where discrimination is not ordinarily practiced in the restaurant, the investigator observed a Negro woman come into the dining room, glance

around, and, instead of seeking a seat at an empty table, sat at a long table (provided in this particular restaurant) between two Caucasians who were in conversation. She did not ask permission to sit with them, and as she seated herself, uninvited, the Caucasians looked at each other but said nothing. One of the Caucasians involved moved farther down on the other side of the person with whom she had been talking. The Negro laughed derisively and, speaking in a tone loud enough to be heard by others in the room, said, "Ho! You think you are too good to set by a Negro, do you? I'll have you know that I am as good as you are" The white women made no reply and the meal was continued without further incident, but after the Negro had left, the conversation turned to the incident. Those individuals who expressed opinions on the matter concluded that all Negroes were rude, ill-mannered, and aggressive. Many whites are prone to judge a whole race by a single incident such as the one described above. More harm was probably done in this case by an ignorant, boisterous, and coarse Negro than good could be accomplished by several refined Negroes who command everyone's respect. Liberty, like many other rights, may be either abused or misused. Certainly, "a little learning is a dangerous thing."

Caucasian restaurant operators object to large numbers of persons of color coming into their places of business, because it attracts the public's attention to the race. Both restaurants and hotels object to traveling troupes and players, managers maintaining that such persons are usually irresponsible and rowdy. This means that such Negro troupes as *Carmen Jones*, when appearing in Spokane, often have difficulty in locating adequate housing and dining facilities. An article by Margaret Bean in the *Spokesman-Review* of August 26, 1945, gives a reasonably good picture of difficulties encountered by a certain visiting Negro troupe. Of course, not all the facts are brought out in the article, but it indicates what treatment such groups may receive in this area. The article, in part, reads:

Last week Billy Rose's "Carmen Jones" with an all-Negro cast was presented at the Fox. As an ensemble production, in point of cast, costumes, scenery, lighting, choreography, and general presentation, it is the finest thing that Spokane has seen. Greater voices have been heard on the stage of the Fox, but no such perfect coordination of theatrical values

People paid up to \$4.50 a seat and gave it lavish praise. But what happens behind the scenes? Manager Oscar Nyberg said that the company of 125

Negroes, including a large group of juveniles, were the best behaved, cleanest and most cooperative of any theatrical group he has handled at the theatre.

Yet these Negro thespians, many well educated with fine musical backgrounds and some receiving as high as \$600 per week, were denied cafes or completely ignored, so that after sitting endlessly at a table or counter had to betake themselves away foodless and they didn't seek the better restaurants, but those on Main Avenue. Some who were quartered in a Negro hotel, run for porters, gave up the quest for a place to eat and cooked their food in their rooms. Those who were quartered in Negro homes, where most lived, fared better.

One young man played the Saturday night performance without *food* because he was refused entrance [sic] to every restaurant he entered. Possibly there were other dinnerless players but this was the only instance of which I was told.

In the service of a nation we all share alike. Negro boys fought and died in this war like white boys. Negro wounded like white wounded, lie at Baxter and other hospitals of the nation. And now in the flush of victory, democratic freedom supposedly won, a group of well-behaved Negroes come to Spokane and are unable to eat, let alone be quartered.

The above speaks for itself, as far as discrimination is concerned. These Negroes did not understand Spokane's pattern for Negroes, and, as a consequence, suffered more humiliation than they otherwise might. As Miss Bean says, however, such conditions should not exist in a democracy that has "for years shouted its indignation at Hitler for his treatment of the Jews." It is possible that the theater manager would not have brought such a large troupe to Spokane had he not been promised by certain Negro leaders that housing would be provided for these thespians. Those Negro leaders spoke without an exact knowledge of the actual conditions necessary to house and feed such large numbers and, therefore, it should be kept in mind that all the blame cannot be placed on Caucasians. When Negroes know that discriminations exist, relations are not improved by ignoring existing problems. The point of the whole fiasco in this instance of discrimination is: who took the responsibility to say housing could, and would, be provided for such large numbers? Such irresponsibility is calculated to increase racial tensions, for it leaves the public with insufficient evidence to form adequate judgments.

Japanese generally have no difficulty securing service in Spokane restaurants. Seldom are they asked to leave or told they are not wanted. Only two instances were found where Japanese were re-

fused service. In both an investigation revealed that recent war casualties had been largely responsible for the attitudes of the individuals who denied the service. It is hoped that after a short period of time much of this type of bitterness will diminish or disappear altogether. The investigator observed numbers of Japanese being served in Spokane's better dining rooms, and, as far as he could determine, these people were served without discrimination. No waiter interviewed was reluctant to serve Japanese. Many Caucasians are unable to distinguish Japanese from other Orientals, with only a few of the most observing or the more widely traveled Caucasians able to tell Japanese from Chinese, and many unable to distinguish Japanese even from Filipinos. In regard to discrimination in restaurants, it should be kept in mind that Japanese very infrequently "eat out," as they prefer by choice, or pressure, to remain in their own homes. This may account, in part, for a minimum of discrimination against them in this service. Those who frequently go to restaurants, do so at lunch-time, at an hour when people are in a hurry and a minimum of attention is paid to the individual. Those who "eat out" in the railroad restaurants are at least tolerated by Caucasians.

With Negroes, "eating out" is more important, for they like to go out at night—and frequently. This calls for food at a time when they are most likely to be noticed. People make a difference between those who "eat out" because it is necessary, and those who do so for pleasure. Toward the latter, prejudice is much stronger than toward the former. When Japanese "eat out" they are usually quiet and unobtrusive, exhibiting polished manners, moving about rather gracefully, whereas many Negroes—and whites—may be quite the opposite. Such actions have an important bearing on the attitudes of groups toward each other.

Hotels do not like Negro trade. The policy of first-class hotels is to keep Negroes in small numbers or single units, if arrangements are made quietly and without show. Negroes like Robeson, Carver, Dubois, and Dunbar have all stayed at one or the other of Spokane's leading hotels. The investigator arranged for Negroes to stay at two of the "better" hotels, but neither of these accepts people of color unless they are recommended by a Caucasian. This is a common practice at the better-type hotel. At middle-class hotels Negroes have the most difficulty securing rooms. The management is afraid

his clientele will be driven away and, because Negro trade will not be sufficient to keep him in business, he usually refuses them service. In such hotels the type of trade is of generally lower quality than at the better hotels. Perhaps celebrities like Paul Robeson would not be refused accommodations at this class of hotel, inasmuch as a name has power in our social world; hence the Negro who has no "name" pays the penalty. In the lowest-class hotels both Negroes and whites are sometimes kept, but those who have visited such places realize that most persons who are economically able avoid spending the night there. Even with the "scum of the earth" patronizing these places, it is common to find friction over the race question.

Japanese find the hotel problem in Spokane much less acute than do Negroes, for most hotels keep the few Japanese who seek lodging. The Japanese frequent hotels much less than most other people, or, if they do not go less frequently, they are at least less conspicuous. In Spokane twenty-three hotels are operated by Japanese, and these places offer an opportunity for Japanese to have hotel service without fear of discrimination. One Japanese operator, however, insisted that he preferred white guests, giving as reasons for his preference: (1) that the place he was operating was better suited for whites; (2) that fewer complaints would be offered by white patrons than by Japanese; and (3) that as most of his guests were white, they might not approve of Japanese and, should they see these Orientals around the hotel, might be induced to leave. This would cause his business to suffer, because too few Japanese regularly patronized his establishment to assure a steady income.

Similarity of Chinese and Japanese kept some Caucasian operators from refusing service to Japanese in hotels during the period of World War II. An operator confessed he was afraid to refuse Orientals lest the supposed Japanese turn out to be Chinese. He told guests who complained that his patrons were Chinese, or at least he thought so. At this writing his "excuse" was still working.

Hotel operators state that white persons very infrequently complain about housing Japanese in the same hotel, but often complain concerning Negroes. Operators believe that the difference in color and the "sex fallacy" are powerful factors in this differentiation. They also are of the opinion that more people would object to Japanese if they were always able to distinguish them from Chinese or

other Orientals to whom we are supposed, at least at the present, to be friendly.

A number of drive-in restaurants do not serve either Japanese or Negroes. Four young Japanese-Americans drove into a popular "pig stand" and asked for sandwiches, but after a long delay were told the house was out of the food ordered. The alert Japanese had observed people in a nearby car eating sandwiches of another kind and immediately ordered some of those. The car-hop went into the kitchen and a few minutes later returned to tell the Japanese that this establishment did not serve such persons as they. The young people drove away. All colored peoples constantly live in fear of such embarrassments. When a prominent Spokane Negress and a Negro sailor went to a cafe for a soft drink, the manager told them they could not be served. They demanded reasons for his refusal, arguing the point with the operator, until he called the police, informing the "law" that two drunken Negroes were in his place of business. The police came and, finding the Negroes not intoxicated, refused to put them out. The police departed and after an hour the Negroes also left, still unserved. As one Negro said, "You sho' nuf know jist how far you can go in the South, but in this 'ere place, I doubt whether God a' Mighty could tell what to do."

INSURANCE

Insurance plays a part in both the economic and social life of America. It has become a universal plan of savings with certain classes of people. American insurance companies have made detailed studies of longevity of life for large numbers of groups, including several racial minorities. Statistical data have been used to compute mortality rates for different groups. Practices of discrimination as it concerns these racial entities, as based upon selected data, are important in the analysis of racial prejudices.

The state of Washington has 484 insurance companies qualified and authorized to solicit business. It was not possible to ask all these companies for information relative to their particular practices for insuring racial groups. As the state laws contain no statement concerning race, creed, or color, such practices as may have developed in regard to writing policies for particular individuals are left to the insuring company. It was found that practices varied according to the company, some writing insurance for Negroes, some for

Japanese, none for both. Some of the companies insure Japanese which do not consider executing a policy for Negroes and vice versa.

A poll of the leading companies revealed their general policies to be:

- (1) Most companies were unwilling to insure Negro lives
- (2) Only a few were willing to insure Japanese
- (3) Two were willing to consider applicants, particularly Negroes, only if they were exceptional physical risks, but even then, only on the basis of a rate-up in premium

It was observed that some of the companies featuring group-insurance plans are willing to accept Negro and Japanese lives so long as the preponderance of risk is spread over white lives. No company whose representative was interviewed actively solicited Negro insurance, though two companies actively solicit Japanese. None of the companies employs Negro agents, and those companies which are willing to consider Negro applications are accustomed to reduce the agent's commission or pay him no commission at all if the application is finally accepted. Under such circumstances no active solicitation of Negro life insurance is carried on in Spokane, and the applicants desirous of having insurance placed on their lives find it exceedingly difficult to secure adequate coverage at reasonable rates

One unquestionable fact justifies the reluctance of major companies to insure Negroes. Mortality tables indicate that Negroes are not as long-lived as Caucasians and that they are far more susceptible to communicable diseases. As a result, unless the Negro applicant is an exceptionally good physical and moral risk—by the latter is meant a recommendation by a white—most major companies believe that it would upset their mortality schedules to accept Negro lives in volume. A large percentage of these companies consider a Negro a sub-standard risk.

A number of companies are organized to write Negro business in the East and South, but as the Negro population is small in this area, or large numbers of Negroes who have come to this area are already insured, companies do not have agents in the Intermountain Northwest to solicit business, nor do they seek qualification under the laws of the state of Washington. Only one Negro company, the Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Company of Los Angeles, California, operates on the Pacific Coast, and that company is not operating in

Spokane. According to 1944 records, this company was not licensed to do business in the state of Washington.

Japanese are more fortunate with reference to life insurance than Negroes. A few companies write them without recommendations from whites, but a more careful examination is made of Japanese applications than of Caucasians'. Those who are accepted for insurance must be super-risks. A few West Coast companies have special rates for Japanese, and one West Coast company is organized especially to underwrite lives of Japanese and Chinese.

Japanese cannot get fire insurance in Spokane. Representatives of some companies expressed themselves as favorable toward writing policies since the close of the war, but had refused to do so previously on the grounds that hatred toward a people at war, racially marked, might lead to acts of violence against property. Actually only one case of violence in this area has been reported, namely, the tossing of a rock through the window of a Japanese home, but in other areas, such as California, for example, occasional firing of houses has been reported. Some of these restrictions against insuring Japanese for fire coverage will probably disappear in the near future.

Although companies do not actively solicit business, no practice of discrimination was found against Negroes placing general and fire insurance. The few Negro businesses are covered at standard rates—on the assumption that the risk is equal. It should be remembered, however, that risks involving Negroes are seldom equal to those involving whites, as the physical properties owned and operated by the former are often less desirable physical risks than those owned by whites. These less desirable physical risks are not limited to Negroes, but extend to other groups of foreign extraction.

With respect to casualty insurance the discrimination is less specific and is characterized by prejudice that follows any colored group. In the event of legal disputes before a white jury, it is generally understood that whites would be given the benefit of any doubt in the case. This practice is not limited to any one area, but is characteristic of all the United States. Negroes believe they are at a distinct disadvantage in courts in the settlement of claims; hence this makes the classification of Negro risks undesirable. In such a situation, the fault is not with the insuring companies, but rather the blame should be placed upon the patterns of our society.

The Automotive Financial Responsibility Act of the state of Washington makes it necessary for any person involved in an accident to file evidence of responsibility with certain state authorities. This law requires that a bond of \$10,000 be posted to cover bodily injury and/or property damage. Such a law makes accident insurance practically prohibitive to Negroes, who may lack means to post such a bond, or may not be able to find white friends to assist them. If one is unable to post such a bond his license is revoked. Well-established automobile and liability companies neither solicit nor invite Negro applicants. As a consequence, Negroes desiring to have coverage must seek out a company or apply to the state insurance association for assignment to one of the standard companies. The companies which have Negroes assigned to them write policies at a substantially higher rate than for whites. Special formulae or agreements have been previously determined, by which Negroes who seek insurance are classified. Such practices discourage Negroes from trying to secure insurance. As a general rule, it can, therefore, be said that Negroes are discriminated against in securing this type of coverage in the state of Washington.

When Negroes secure insurance, they often purchase policies which are expensive and assure little real protection. Industrial insurance is highly popular with them, but after a time it is frequently allowed to lapse. Negroes have been "easy to take in" on this type of insurance. They carry these policies as death protection, a Negro folkway making it imperative that they have enough money for burial expenses, regardless of the conditions prevailing for those left behind. This may account in part for Negroes carrying small and ineffective insurance policies.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Religion and religious life are important social elements in the total life of a people. Through religious contacts people are brought together in close associations. This is a measure of social distance and group acceptance. Because a particular fundamental concept of the Christian religion is the brotherhood of man, it should be theoretically characterized by attitudes of friendliness and a spirit of cooperation not found in other institutions of American life. The Christian Bible is positive on the principle of brotherhood of man as a basic part of its philosophy, which knows no national or inter-

national boundaries. In Christian groups such as Jesus sought to establish, racial minorities might expect to find protection from persecution and individual equality in these groups. Friendly relationships are presupposed in Christian missionary programs when moneys are collected to send evangelists throughout the world with Jesus' message of brotherly love.

Contrary to expectations, the religious practices in Spokane are not always in accord with this philosophy where racial equality is concerned. Many Christian churches, in opposition to their philosophy, do not welcome racial minorities to their places of worship. Theoretically, no distinction is made between races, but actually discrimination is widely practiced. No white church groups interviewed by the investigator admitted the refusal of Japanese or Negroes the privileges of attending public church functions, but none had openly encouraged these minorities to attend. If individuals of color should attend regularly at Caucasian churches, or ask for membership in one of the larger congregations, it is the opinion of church leaders with whom the investigator discussed the problem that such membership would be denied, or such persons of color would be ignored until eventually they would cease to attend. Even if this membership were granted, it is not likely that Negroes would be granted full participation in the social life and personal-work programs of the church.

The church should be the one institution in American life able to plan and execute a program of aggressive action on the race question. As racial equality is a part of the basic philosophy of the Church, it should be easy for the Church to convince its adherents of the need for such a program. If the Church refuses to take the lead in such a program, how can Christians expect other institutions to develop an active, workable program for integrating racial groups into American life? To assist minorities to establish their own church groups will not satisfactorily solve the problem. In reality, any "Christian" who advocates such a policy, advocates racial segregation, which, upon more careful analysis, becomes racial superiority. Local congregations in Spokane cannot salve their consciences by financially assisting, or expressing a willingness to assist, these minorities to secure Church plants and places of worship. They must foster an active program of constructive work designed to develop a homogeneity between white and colored groups. Japanese and

Negroes understand the Scriptural teaching concerning "unity in Christ Jesus" as well as do Caucasians. Therefore token measures of co-operation and partial acceptance into a spiritual brotherhood by Protestant denominations are scorned by both Japanese and Negroes.

After years of toleration of such condescending attitudes of white Protestants, a small number of both Negroes and Japanese have turned to Catholicism as the answer to the Christian system. From the point of view of co-operation and acceptance, however, little, if any, more can be said of the Catholic program for effective integration of races into a single church group than of Protestant denominations. When one white and one colored group worship at the same building at different hours, are fostered by the same priest, are instructed by the same literature, and later are forced to attend separate social functions, such as a picnic in a public park, something is lacking in complete integration. As a Negro said, "They wish to save my soul to live in Heaven with them forever, but I cannot be tolerated for a few hours at a picnic while on earth." This may be a rather crude way of expressing the thought, but it is a point that cannot be accounted for as a figment of the colored man's imagination. Catholic policy with respect to race varies widely with the priests in charge, as well as in different areas of the United States.³

Most Spokane Caucasian churches have no contacts with Negroes or Japanese. Many ministers admit having given little or no thought to the race problem. Laymen are usually non-plussed when approached about the matter. Most of them have never thought seriously of it in any way beyond allowing these racial groups to have their own church building and church programs. A positive, thoughtful program of education is needed to make both Caucasian laymen and ministers conscious of the existing situation.

Based upon the results of the interviews and questionnaire, only three denominational groups have openly encouraged racial toleration or co-operation from the pulpit. Such a condition is an open condemnation of the clergy. Only 9.1 per cent of the total population report that churches which they attend encouraged any kind of co-operation openly. Perhaps the ministry can find some solace in

³ A discussion of the Catholic point of view on what is being, and has been, done with the racial question is found in John LaFargue, *The Negro and the Race Question* (New York, 1942).

the fact that only 21.5 per cent of Spokane's population has been encouraged by any group, at any time, to enter into a work program to develop wholesome attitudes of co-operation with racial minorities. Among organizations listed as encouraging such programs, the churches are second to the schools.

Ministers were asked, "Why have you not publicly spoken of racial needs and relationships between races, and/or encouraged a program of racial toleration?" Answers varied from a lack of knowledge of the subject to fear of social ostracism, with variations of opinion that defy a satisfactory summary. Two ministers had publicly encouraged tolerance, two had "privately done some work on the issue," ten had "not as yet approached the problem," eight of whom did not consider it a lively issue and two knew it was a vital issue and had under consideration at the time a possible program, intending to instigate teaching at the propitious time. Private discussion revealed two ministers had refrained from "agitating the question lest it affect their economic security adversely." The investigator believes this a more powerful motive than many were willing to admit. Evidences point to the fact that those who denied the existence of such a problem, or claimed token co-operation, were merely rationalizing. Such conclusions, however, have no scientific basis.

It is important to study not only the attitudes of ministers, but those of laymen. Of those persons answering the questionnaire, 78.5 per cent of the non-church members believed racial groups should attend public church services with whites, and only 43.8 per cent of the church members had similar opinions. Such a variation of opinion may lie in the fact that non-church members think of the Church as it should theoretically operate, whereas church members are acquainted with it in a practical way, actually experiencing it function. Members probably no longer see the church in its broad social sense as a mold of a philosophy of living, but think of it as a social service group to satisfy individuals' needs, much in the same sense as one attends a sewing circle or a social affair. Large numbers of church members seem to consider Christian philosophy as relatively unimportant in comparison with the social benefits gained from friends and acquaintances. Many excellent comments by lay members—such as, "If the race problem is ever solved, it will be so largely because Christianity proves to the world that it be-

lieves in demonstrating the principle of international brotherhood and not economic exploitation"—show that some laymen are conscious of the problem and are giving constructive thought to it. Such comments as the above were by no means representative of the group. The following could be said to be much more representative: "Let 'em have their own churches. Who wants to sit by a yellow, buck-toothed Jap at Church?" Or, "I didn't help build that ——— church to have to sit by an ignorant black, a few years removed from cannibalism. Too, you know the odor they have is unbearable. No, I could never tolerate their presence." As a whole, people showed little or no consistency between religious beliefs and racial attitudes with reference to Christian philosophy.

It was observed that no particular effort is made by laymen to correlate the above practices with Bible teaching. Individuals interviewed seldom had thought sufficiently on the problem to give a constructive analysis. As a baker said, "I ain't never thought much about it and probably never will. I just know I don't like 'em."

But what do colored groups think? What is their reaction toward white groups? Are they, too, Christian in theory and non-Christian in practice? What programs, if any, do they have for cooperation and tolerance? Attitudes of minorities are important in determining adjustment of majority and minority groups. Unless attitudes developed by minorities are wholesome, little chance for success is apparent, regardless of the work of the majority.

Negroes in Spokane are Methodist, Baptist, and Catholic except a few isolated ones, who have no organized church groups. Baptists are divided into two branches—a division which resulted from inconsequential details of Conference organization. The churches roughly represent social and economic classes found among Negroes in Spokane. Many Caucasians are not aware that caste and class is found among Negroes, as a strong tendency exists for whites to place all Negroes in the same category. Yet, class is just as important among Negroes as among whites. To be one of the "Negro elite" is as important in the total life of a Negro as to live on Riverside Drive or to be among the "Social 400" is to a Caucasian. Such class and caste structure tends to promote conflicts among Negroes of which whites are often not aware. The tendency is for one class to consider itself superior to all others, and, in addition, belittle those whom they consider inferior, because they do not conform to the

superior's standard of conduct. To illustrate: One Negro element in Spokane looks with disgust upon those who seek financial assistance from whites for promoting church programs. Those seeking such financial assistance believe pride and envy the main elements that keep their "high-hat friends" from using similar techniques to raise money. Such petty quarreling and bickering keep Negro groups from co-operating among themselves, and negates any effort to exert considerable and important influence on Caucasians. Such practices give Caucasians a looked-for excuse to continue to treat Negroes as children, pointing out their conduct as sufficient evidence that Negroes are as yet unable to manage their own affairs.

Negro churches in Spokane have few white attendants, but, should any attend, their presence is usually resented by Negroes. In fact, many Negroes believe these whites would not attempt to attend Negro services if they were psychologically balanced and socially adjusted. As churches for whites have much better physical equipment and frequently can offer better church programs than Negro churches, there is no occasion for whites to attend these colored churches. Negroes have pointed out the frustration of Caucasians with reference to leadership in their bailiwicks, believing their attendance at Negro churches a compensation for failures among their own people. Therefore, when whites present themselves for membership in Negro churches they are sometimes refused, but, if accepted, it is with reservation by many of the Negro members. Doubtless most white persons who seek membership in Negro churches do so because of maladjustment with their own race. When on one occasion a white sought membership in a Negro church in Spokane, several of the members threatened to withdraw their membership, and others refused to continue active support of the church. Nevertheless, Negro ministers were willing to accept white memberships, even though members of the congregation objected.

Negro ministers hold that attempts at racial co-operation by whites are half-hearted. To quote from one Negro minister: "They invite me to speak in their churches on Sunday evenings, but I would never be asked to take charge of a white group, regardless of how successful I might be in developing and executing a religious program. No matter how capable I might be, or how proficient I might become in teaching the Scriptures, I could never be minister,

assistant minister, or even young people's director at the smallest white church in Spokane. The reason is, I'm black. I understand that when I am invited to speak at white services it is only token co-operation and a rather half-hearted attempt by the preacher to express his pity for me. Members of the white church come and listen, to be sure, but not to learn. They are not interested in me because I might bring them spiritual truths for their edification, but come to see what sort of monstrosity I might be, or to see if it is possible for a Negro really to be a minister of the Gospel. If by chance I should teach a good lesson, the listeners do not go away and discuss the value it might have for them, but have a session among themselves wondering how any Negro can be so 'sharp', or well educated. Actually they are disappointed because I have not conformed to their ideal Negro stereotype. Do you see any sincerity in such action?" Perhaps this Negro minister exaggerated the part whites play in the total pattern, but his statements are indicative of what many Negro church leaders think.

Some denominational leaders have made concerted attempts to separate Negroes into a Ministerial Alliance of their own in the Northwest, but as yet have been unsuccessful. In Spokane, Negro ministers attend the Ministerial Alliance along with whites, and, as far as could be determined, no particular discrimination is practiced. Colored preachers have served as officers of this local church group.

Negro ministers use the pulpit more often to discuss racial issues than Caucasian ministers. Such practices make Negroes conscious of racial discrimination and keep them better informed of present scientific thinking in the field of race relations than are Caucasians. It should not be supposed, however, that all teaching from the Negro pulpit is academic, for quite the contrary is true. It ranges from the unprepared, meaningless harangues, to well-developed, thoughtful expositions on methods by which Negroes may improve their position as America's outstanding minority.

Japanese religious life revolves around two small church groups: Methodist and Episcopal. A few Japanese of the Hangman's Creek Section are Roman Catholic. Two Japanese ministers live in Spokane and conduct services in both the English and Japanese languages. The total membership of these Christian churches is about 150. They have an adequate church building with services conducted similarly to those of Caucasian church groups.

It should be kept in mind that Japanese think of Christianity as a system opposed to Buddhism and do not make denominational distinction as clearly as do Caucasians. Most of the "older" Japanese population of Spokane is Christian, but newcomers are both Christian and Buddhist, though the former are in the majority. Many do not conform to either belief. At present, Buddhists have no church in Spokane; however, while this survey was in progress, a Buddhist priest was in the city, investigating possibilities of establishing a church. No report has been obtained on the progress of this proposed project.⁴

Co-operation with white church groups has been most satisfactory with the Methodist and Episcopal Churches. In fact, Japanese have for many years received more help from the Methodist than from any other denomination. When General Dewitt ordered the evacuation of Japanese from the West Coast, the Methodist Church was the most active of all church groups in meeting needs of Japanese. Some congregations of the Episcopal Church in Spokane, whose ministers are particularly interested in Japanese problems, have given both time and financial assistance to them.

Many Japanese in Spokane are passive about religious practices. Some young Japanese, with college educations, express themselves as having a minimum of interest in formal religion. In this respect they are quite like white young Americans who express themselves similarly about the failure of Christianity as taught and practiced by the older generation.

The Japanese teaching on Christian doctrine is much less "fundamental" than that of similar denominations among Caucasians. Reasons for this are not determined, but such "liberal" teaching is widespread among Japanese Christians. To them Christianity is a total way of life, a philosophy enveloping the complete life of the individual.

Members of Japanese churches were outspoken in the belief that if Japanese are to become Americanized they must break away from the strict, formal philosophy of Buddhism. The philosophies of Buddhism, they maintain, do not lend themselves to universal education, change, tolerance, racial acceptance, and open debate on questionable topics as does Christianity. This belief was strongly

⁴ Since this report was written, a Buddhist Church has been established in Spokane.

expressed by many Christians, but whether such expressions are prejudices toward Christianity, or reactions against Buddhism could not be determined. Japanese Christians also pointed out that those who were best adjusted and who were relocated most satisfactorily were largely Christian. This is likely true, but might be a result of previous Americanization rather than a cause of it.

Japanese have little opportunity to co-operate with whites in church activities. Many older Japanese do not speak the English language well enough to attend religious services conducted in English. It would be only natural for parents to encourage children to attend church services with them; hence few Japanese attend Caucasian churches. Those who have attended were treated with respect, but generally no effort has been made to encourage them to become members of these Caucasian church groups. The few Caucasians who attend Japanese services report quite satisfactory experiences, but what was said of whites attending Negro churches would apply also to most Caucasians who exclusively attend Japanese churches.⁵

Japanese of Catholic faith have no separate church from Caucasians and are ministered to by Caucasian priests. Some discrimination is apparent in the total relationships, though none immediately connected with church work was found. Such discriminations as the refusal of the superintendent of a Catholic hospital to allow a maternity case to be handled in the hospital if attended by a Japanese, non-Catholic physician seems to be closely allied to church functions. No statement of policy was secured from Catholics relative to specific church functions and their relation to Japanese.

It can be said that most Caucasian churches have only limited relationships with Japanese. A spirit of indifference and neglect is more prevalent than one of antagonism and prejudice. Even this little existing social interaction between Japanese and Caucasian churches is more than one finds between Negroes and Caucasian churches.

EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Among the closest contacts whites have with racial groups are those of school life. Such contacts offer opportunity to observe the amount of prejudice and racial tensions in an area. Because school

⁵ Because of the language and cultural barriers, it is necessary for some of the older Japanese to have separate churches.

children reflect home training by their attitudes toward other children and their teachers, the school offers an opportunity for observing the development of attitudes as well as determining the presence of those already well developed. For this reason, the school is studied as a source of race prejudice in Spokane and the surrounding territory. If, as Dr. Robert Park says, "Race relations are the relations of strangers," then one answer to the minimum amount of prejudice and friction characterizing the Spokane educational system might be found, for certainly schools, relatively speaking, have few strangers. Common interests, knowledge, associates, environment, and guidance characterize schools, until strangers practically disappear. It is a well-established point among students of social relationships that the better one knows an individual, the less likely he is to judge him by race or stereotype, but will be more inclined to judge on personal merits. Students, teachers, administrators, and parents generally report a wholesome relationship between racial groups with no more friction than is commonly found between Caucasian groups. Occasionally race discrimination has been claimed when evidence showed personal jealousy to be the real cause of friction.

It is not uncommon for minority peoples to mistake idiosyncrasies and unusual personal traits in individuals of the majority group for racial discriminations. A Japanese student reported that she was certain two of her teachers "leaned backwards" to keep from discriminating against her. "I wish she would treat me like any other person," she said.

Teachers were complimentary of the general conduct of Japanese students. They report Japanese as co-operative in lectures, causing a minimum of disturbance in classes, and as above average in academic standing. With Negroes, the picture is not so bright as far as teachers are concerned. They do not find as many scholastically superior Negro students proportionately as Japanese, but qualify this by adding that if Negroes do excel, they usually rank near the top of the class. Teachers also noted a tendency toward discrimination if Negro students were very dark, or had pronounced Negroid features. They also thought this type of Negro was somewhat more aggressive, as well as more open and careless in his aggression. A few teachers do not like to teach Negro students, but try not to show differences. A few cases were reported by the administration of

teachers who made complaints about allowing Negroes the privilege of candidacy for school office, or permitting honors to be bestowed on them.

The attitude of school administrative officers is reasonably wholesome where racial groups are involved. During World War II, talks on racial subjects were discouraged, but since the close of the war, invitations have been extended to informed government representatives who have presented the story of the part Japanese have played in the war as well as their place in the peace. The Superintendent of Schools expressed a willingness to have this particular person speak in Spokane schools in special convocations. Such an attitude on the part of the public school administrative officers is to be commended. The fear expressed by school officials during the war against agitating the racial question is in line with national thinking, especially as exemplified on the West Coast.

In the elementary schools a minimum of prejudice was found. Among small children it was practically non-existent. Teachers were loathe to report any unhappy incidents, if such there were, but among the few mentioned, Negroes brought more complaints than Japanese. Small children have no prejudice until it is taught them by parents, or it is learned from patterns of our society. Teachers' complaints against Negroes were for rudeness, lack of neatness, physical uncleanness, and immorality. More complaints were made against mothers who interfered with the handling of children than against the children themselves. A careful investigation revealed only a few cases of actual discrimination.

Two cases were found in which the mothers came to teachers at the school and demanded their children not be discriminated against. Both these persons had been in Spokane for only a short time and were probably over-zealous about Negro "rights." Both thought their children had been treated unfairly on the playground, but as far as the investigator could determine, this mistreatment was a figment of the imagination of the Negro mothers. Members of the Negro race who were questioned agreed on this point when relating the incident. Some friction is evident among younger Chinese students, but this friction was limited to Chinese themselves and did not involve Chinese-white relationships.

In higher education Negroes and Japanese have equal privileges of attendance with whites and report no discriminations in their col-

lege life Both local institutions of higher learning are known for treating minority groups fairly and students report these colleges frequently go out of their way to show favors to racial groups, particularly Negroes. Though discrimination is not practiced in the arts and sciences colleges, many Negroes and Japanese do not attend these schools; because their occupational opportunities are so limited, they see little need of higher education. In the professions, a Negro can scarcely hope to make a living in Spokane, inasmuch as the numbers of his own race are insufficient to support him, and under present conditions he cannot reasonably expect support from many Caucasians. Negroes and Japanese are not allowed to teach school; law would be next to starvation; medicine would be little better. Accordingly, regardless of the field which he enters, except that of service jobs or a small business of his own, he faces a dilemma. Japanese are in a similar position, but are not so unfortunate as the Negro. They may break down barriers more easily than Negroes, and a small number of highly trained professional people may find reasonably satisfactory employment. Yet, when a trained and able lawyer has to sell fruit for a living and a trained laboratory technician has to "act as maid", something must be amiss.

Those who have trained themselves and found jobs have often been on the verge of starvation, both physically and professionally. Only once has the City School Board employed a colored teacher, and she was placed on the substitute list. The work she did was satisfactory, but complaints came from parents, though she was allowed to give no lectures and direct no classes, but merely played the musical instrument for physical education drill and routine. She left the city without asking for full employment as a teacher.

Japanese girls have been employed as stenographers and office assistants and, as a whole, have been satisfactory as far as the work assigned was concerned. At one school a Japanese girl of neat appearance was employed as office girl and was placed near the door where she could be seen by visitors. Such a large number of people complained that the management moved her to a less noticeable location. Girls in the office with this same young lady refused to take turns at the switchboard with her.

In business and trade schools in Spokane the discrimination is bitter with the Negro, but less pronounced with the Japanese. Negroes may attend business college only at night, when they are least

conspicuous. Those who apply for admittance to classes are encouraged to attend other schools, and according to business school administrative authorities, assistance has been given them in securing scholarships in Eastern institutions. It is explained by school officials that, should they graduate, no employment is available. Because this inability of school officials to find employment for Negro graduates lowers the employment record of the school, it is only natural to discourage Negro attendance. Officials also maintain that white students make frequent complaints when assigned to work near Negroes. Few attempts to find employment for those who have attended night classes have been made. This serves as an effective means of keeping classes closed to Negroes.

Japanese students are accepted for business training and stenographic work without reserve. In fact, they are encouraged to attend and are reported as among the better students. No particular difficulty has been encountered in placing Japanese graduates. At present two Japanese are attending one particular business school in Spokane and report no discrimination. White students are lavish in their praise of these Japanese and show no unfavorable attitudes toward them. Negroes are accepted in trade schools, but various forms of discrimination are practiced, though, if enrolling as Negroes, they may enter trade training and usually find jobs. The discrimination was more in the form of social ostracism than in instruction or in the finding of employment. No cases of Japanese attending trade schools were found.

Young women of Negroid or Mongoloid descent have difficulty in securing nurses' training in Spokane hospitals. Again the Negroes are in a more unfavorable position than Japanese. No hospital in Spokane at present will take a Negro trainee. Where applications have been made, they have been flatly refused, they have been ignored altogether, or, by technicalities, entrance of the candidates has been blocked. One hospital makes a practice of trying to place Negro applicants for nurses' training in hospitals in the East or South.

Japanese are accepted on a "ration basis" in on hospital, which, according to proportions of the total population, is fair. Another hospital has had two Japanese students who were taken in an emergency from a Seattle hospital at the outbreak of World War II. One of these remained to graduate and is still with the institution

as a graduate nurse, but no students of Japanese descent are now accepted. In no instance have complaints arisen about the Japanese students as far as classmates or teachers are concerned. All hospital personnel make favorable reports on them, even at the institution now excluding them from training. No satisfactory answer can be given by the authorities of this hospital for refusing to accept Japanese for nurses' training.

In summarizing, it can be said that equal rights for racial groups in the educational system as well as educational opportunities are more nearly on an equitable basis than those of any other field of human relations which this survey covers. Although discrimination is practiced in certain technical schools, the whole educational pattern is reasonably satisfactory. Officials of most institutions have made honest attempts to meet the problem and are willing to go even further, but believe that the cultural lag in other institutional life makes it appear as if the schools were especially disposed to champion minority rights. Of course, school officials fear public condemnation, for upon this they "live or die professionally." As yet, school leaders are not sure how far racial co-operation should be encouraged—for fear of public sentiment reacting against them. Some were encouraged to increase their activities in this direction on learning that the survey showed 41.8 per cent of the people had no objection to a person of color teaching their children, if these teachers were equally or better qualified than Caucasians. They also looked encouragingly on the finding that well over half the people in Spokane were in favor of all races attending schools together. It is quite possible that conditions in the educational field will improve for all racial minorities.

CLUBS, CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS, AND SOCIAL GROUPS

Acceptance into social clubs and civic organizations is a measure of social distance and, therefore, a determinant of racial prejudice. As a rule, Negroes and Japanese do not belong to these groups. Only on special occasions and under circumstances demanding mixed membership do these racial minorities have social intercourse on an equal basis with Caucasians, and even then a strained feeling on the part of both races is often evident. Frequently, Caucasians take condescending attitudes toward minority members which increase tension and form prejudice rather than eliminate it. Whites may feel

that, as they have made it possible for persons of racial minorities to become members of such groups, they are actually promoting better relationships between them. Therefore the minority (racial) individual may refrain from asking membership in such organizations, or, if invited, may politely refuse to join. Only in the Race Relations Council or similar organizations does one find groups functioning on an equitable basis, and sometimes even these associations show evidences of suspicion and lack of understanding. On boards or councils where minority members sit, they often do not feel free to express themselves, although it should be emphasized that this is frequently the fault of the minority members themselves.

It was impossible to determine the policy of every club and civic organization in a survey of this type, but a wide sampling was made from every phase of club life in Spokane and its environment. As expected, varying degrees of acceptance and widely differing patterns in club memberships were revealed. Women's social clubs usually have no mixed membership. A cause for this lies in the fact that such clubs have a tendency to crystallize around special groups of individuals, particularly those interested in relieving personal boredom or seeking social approval in the community. Such clubs may be sources through which "social climbers" hope to rise, and, consequently, these "climbers" do not wish their names to appear in conjunction with groups or individuals that might have a tendency to lower their social standing. Where concerted attempts have been made to mix racial groups, results have generally been unsatisfactory. Professional and semiprofessional groups rarely accept Negroes and Japanese into their ranks, although they show a greater willingness to accept Japanese than Negroes. An occasional person of Japanese or Negro extraction has been able to "break into" such groups as the American Association of University Women, yet this cannot be said to characterize Spokane social clubs. (The American Association of University Women is used simply to illustrate a general rule.)

Many subterfuges are used by social clubs to avoid meeting the issue of racial memberships fairly and honestly. Among the more common is the refusal to issue invitations for membership to eligible persons. As long as membership is by such method, it is almost certain that individuals representing racial minorities will be excluded. Other groups make a feint at being democratic and allow vote by

membership, usually excluding the applicant if one member or a very small percentage of members vote against acceptance. In practice this means that one or two prejudiced members may keep anyone out of the organization. Even when the constitution and by-laws of an organization state that no discrimination be shown "because of race, creed or color," exclusion still may be practiced, but, if individual members are asked whether they voted against the applicant because of his race, other reasons may be conveniently given. Clubs consider this method much more democratic than the aforementioned procedures, yet it might be better described as "not more democratic but more hypocritical."

Another common method of excluding racial minorities is to have a committee or board review applications, and, if possible, to reject applicants on the basis of technicalities, or by careful scrutinization to find some insignificant cause other than race upon which a formal statement of exclusion may be based. Sometimes, if no cause is found, the application is rejected on "general principles." A letter to the individual stating the refusal of membership is usually sufficient to discourage the applicant.

Still another dodge is to have the president, chairman, secretary, or whatever person may be in charge tell the would-be applicants that he personally wishes them to be members, that he knows they should not be discriminated against because of race, but that certain "hot heads" and uneducated persons in the group would make the relationship so unpleasant that all concerned would be embarrassed. Therefore, he quietly and in a "friendly" manner advises that formal application not be made and that thus the embarrassment of possible rejection be avoided. Such a method has been very effective with certain of the service organizations and other social-service charter groups. The writer observes that an organization, if social in nature, though its original intention may have been otherwise, as a rule rejects the membership of individuals of color. One organization simply tells the applicant in a frank, forthright manner that they will consider and accept him to membership if he will promise to attend only business meetings where the general welfare of the group is discussed, but insists that if he is to be accepted as a member he must voluntarily withdraw if the matter under consideration is social. It is also stipulated that he must not attend social functions with Caucasians.

The few organizations which accept an occasional Negro or Japanese as a member find persons within their own group differing on attitudes toward these people, with frequent contentions arising over the point. From the questionnaire it was found that 57.8 per cent of those answering believe separate American Legion posts should be provided. For comparative purposes, it may be stated here that 81.2 per cent of the members of labor groups thought unions should operate without discrimination as to race, whereas only 63.9 per cent of the total population thought that races should have a single union. The investigator believes this indicates that members of labor unions know the purpose of their organization and, as a whole, do not consider it a social group, whereas non-unionists believe such organizations at least partly social, so that the votes of the latter show a distaste toward accepting racial groups on a social rather than business level. Where old-established organizations like the American Legion of World War I are functioning in a large measure as a social group, they usually wish to exclude racial minorities, whereas the more recently formed posts of World War II—although many of them wish to exclude minority persons—have less prejudice toward men of color than their older brethren.

A few individuals of racial groups were found who pay fees for memberships in organizations, but never attend; however, if asked whether they are members, they always answer in the affirmative, boasting of being accepted on a basis of equality with Caucasians. Such practices should be condemned.

Negroes and Japanese have fallen, or have been forced, into economic patterns which divorce them from civic organizations. Associations with these groups are almost nonexistent. The organization in Spokane most nearly ignoring racial differences, unless a group is specifically organized for such purposes, is the Parent-Teachers' Association. In the vast majority of cases investigated, relationships in this organization appear to be wholesome with only an isolated instance here and there where individuals believed they had been discriminated against. Moreover, even when discrimination was claimed, the actual reason sometimes was disappointment in personal ambitions, the action being really a matter of choice of talent based upon ability and leadership. Teachers, especially, were laudatory of the co-operative spirit of Japanese and in a few instances of Negroes in Parent-Teachers' Association work. In two

instances Negroes who had recently come to Spokane made demands for "rights," but teachers considered these as unreasonable and both requests were denied. This caused the Negroes to accuse teachers of racial partiality. Neither demand was pressed after the original incident, and, according to the teachers, the total effects were inconsequential.

On the other hand, schools and school officials report instances where, in units attended by rather large numbers of different races, mothers work together in harmony and frequently express themselves as having had satisfactory experiences as members of these racially mixed groups. On several occasions joint displays of work have been satisfactorily exhibited.

It is unfortunate that most of the people who participate in Parent-Teachers' Organization with racial minorities never become social and civic leaders of the city's activities or larger community. As their economic level is low, they seldom figure as important in the total social life of the area. It is not determined whether their economic status forces them to accept racial groups as associates or whether this acceptance is a matter of choice, but it is observed that those whose economic status is "superior" generally do not have many satisfactory relationships with minorities. Perhaps many of these people who apparently have accepted racial groups would ignore them if they were in a position to do so. Special recommendations and suggestions relative to this problem will be discussed at length in another section of this study.

It was found that the Junior Chamber of Commerce and other organizations in which youth predominates appear to have less prejudice than is found among groups whose members are older. Officials of the Junior Chamber are of the opinion that if a representative Negro or Japanese were to apply for membership in that organization, his chances of being accepted would be good. They emphasized, however, that no such application has been made. On numerous occasions the investigator tried to determine what the general opinion of the group would be if such an incident should arise. In the local civic organizations such as the International Lions Club, there is nothing in the charters to forbid membership of colored individuals. The method of voting upon members, however, is almost certain to exclude any applicant of Mongoloid or Negroid extraction.

RECREATION FOR RACIAL MINORITIES

Observing how people play together is one way to discern whether individuals have particular dislikes or use discriminatory practices toward each other. Spokane is no exception to other cities of the United States as far as its recreation program and recreational facilities are concerned. The study of these facilities should help to reveal a portion of the intensity of racial feeling between the Caucasians and minority races.

Swimming is a type of recreation in which racial groups come in close contact. A careful check of swimming pools was made to determine who visited the pools and whether visiting Caucasians objected to swimming with those of other races. As has already been mentioned, the survey questionnaire showed that 72.8 per cent of Spokane's residents object to mixed racial participation in this particular type of recreation.

It was observed that several Japanese boys regularly swim in the city pools with Caucasian friends. The majority of these youngsters preferred to swim with Caucasian friends rather than Japanese, for, if they took their Japanese friends they feared Caucasians would notice Japanese groups and unfavorable results might follow. At no time did the investigator find Japanese girls participating in this sport in public as a form of recreation, though many admitted swimming as a sport and denied any form of discrimination by Caucasians. Older Japanese men and women evidently do not enjoy this sport, inasmuch as no record could be found of their participation at any city swimming pools.

As far as the investigator was able to determine, Negro boys and girls do not swim in city pools. In both the Young Women's Christian Association and Young Men's Christian Association pools, however, Negroes may participate if they desire. The Director of the Young Men's Christian Association stated that scarcely a day had passed in the last five years in which Japanese, Negroes, and Caucasians had not utilized the pool concurrently. He reports no tensions or discrimination as far as he could ascertain. Although Negroes are permitted in the Young Women's Christian Association, records show that they seldom, if ever, take advantage of this privilege.

The recreational program at the Young Women's Christian Association in recent years has aggressively supported racial equality.

Some objectors to such a policy were found among whites, but they were not numerous. These persons believe that, instead of an aggressive policy, races should be encouraged to work co-operatively, racial problems being treated incidentally. Young Caucasian women reported that at dinners held for various Young Women's Christian Association groups it was obvious that racial co-operation was being pushed upon both colored and white, so that the situation had become stilted and unnatural. They thought colored groups who wish to participate should be allowed to do so, but definitely believed that neither Negroes nor Japanese should be forced into situations that embarrassed both them and the Caucasians.

Dance halls, "juke box" establishments, and "road houses" are other sources of recreation for Spokane people. Though Japanese and Negroes occasionally attend school dances, they do not attend public dances with any regularity. Several attempts have been made by Negroes to attend such places of entertainment, but the bold few have been openly asked to leave or have been so coldly treated that they soon understood their presence was undesirable. Mixed dancing, like mixed swimming, is objected to by a large number of the people of the city; 72.7 per cent believed that racial groups should have separate places for dancing. Much of the actual objection to mixed dancing seems to be closely associated with certain sex patterns of American culture.

Pool halls, bowling alleys, and skating rinks are also a source of recreation for people of Spokane. These places are largely attended by whites, occasionally by Japanese, and only seldom by Negroes. Operators of pool halls, especially those on Main and Trent Streets, state that the presence of Negroes is undesirable, and it is not unusual to exclude them from these places in order to avoid friction. Negroes who play billiards go to a Negro pool hall and recreational parlor. Until recently, Japanese have not frequented pool halls in large numbers, but no particular complaints have been raised at houses where Japanese play billiards.

Gambling houses, though operating outside the law in Spokane, are proving an attractive place for a certain element of the Japanese. These, together with certain Chinese, are able to operate gambling houses without police interference except in isolated cases. It is suspected, though it has not been proved, that these "joints" have some sort of protection, for, with no apparent reason, at certain times of

the year they are closed, yet at others they operate seemingly without fear of apprehension. Whites frequent these places, but Negroes are not allowed. As far as the investigator could determine, Negroes have no "established" gambling houses, but must carry on their activities of this type "behind the curtains," evidently without police protection. Such protection for Negroes, if it exists at all, is not widespread in Spokane. Police frequently complain of Negroes' petty gambling, but no such complaints have been brought against Japanese.

Commercial athletic activities in Spokane are attended by all races if fees are paid or tickets are purchased. Such activities as boxing and wrestling have attracted large numbers of whites and Negroes who cheer their champions together. This apparent co-operation may be due, in part, to a local Negro's having attained success and national prominence as a professional boxer. He is the local hero of a large number of boxing fans of all races. Football and basketball, as commercial activities, attract all races, but, because only a small percentage of Japanese and Negroes attend, they are usually "lost in the crowd."

Attending the "movies" is the most common form of recreation for Spokane people, tens of thousands of people attending these attractions each week. All movie houses that were checked sold tickets without discrimination as to race or color, but a number of managers, as well as ushers, have on numerous occasions been requested by patrons not to be seated by Negroes. On the survey questionnaire, 49.7 per cent of the people of Spokane felt that separate theaters should be provided for colored peoples. Actually, a large number of people do not object to sitting near colored people in "movie" houses, because it is too dark for them to identify persons near them. Yet a number of Negroes report whites move or leave the theater as soon as they realize a Negro is seated nearby. As a whole, racial tensions with respect to movie attendance cannot be considered a serious problem in Spokane.

Another form of recreation that has become an important part of American life in the last generation is the week-end outing. Negroes, because of almost never availing themselves of this form of recreation, experience no discrimination in regard to this activity. Japanese, on the other hand, engage in this particular recreational activity frequently. They find a week-end outing a satisfactory ex-

perience as it allows them benefits of country life, such as hunting, fishing, and boating, with a minimum of contacts with white people. They seldom encounter difficulty, but, if so, are often able to pass as Chinese in rural areas (this was especially easy during the war, for many Caucasians were under the impression that all Japanese had been sent to Relocation Centers).

POLICE AND THE MINORITIES

This section of the report must include at least two divisions, for conflicting opinions were expressed by police authorities at different times. Early in the survey a study was made of the Japanese and their relationships to the law, but, after the report was written, it was found necessary to amend it on the basis of additional information.

The Police and Detective Bureau in Spokane is in charge of issuing licenses. No licenses are issued to Japanese who are not citizens of this country. To some Japanese who are citizens, licenses have been refused on the claim that tensions growing out of the war made it dangerous for such persons to operate businesses. Interviews with police reveal little bitterness toward, or difficulty with, the Japanese. Those who had been granted licenses or permits to operate businesses were reported to be models as far as character and general demeanor were concerned.

Police report a minimum of arrests for Japanese. The department head was of the opinion that additional Japanese in Spokane had not created a problem as far as the police were concerned. In an interview the opinion was expressed that there were no increases in the number of arrests of Japanese, though the increase in population from the relocation program had been considerable. Those arrested consisted principally of professional gamblers and traffic violators. Reports from the police relative to Japanese were very satisfactory. Both plain-clothes detectives and uniformed police report that, as far as they are individually concerned, they would not object to more Japanese, because these create a minimum of trouble. These men do not believe that Japanese from the relocation camps have intensified the problem. A single exception is the inclination of a few Japanese to roam the streets while unemployed, but the police do not believe these as a whole are any more undesirable than those who lived in Spokane prior to Pearl Harbor. In no sense of the word do

police consider the Japanese an undesirable minority from the point of view of the law. In the few contacts they have with the law, Japanese are reported to be co-operative, fair, and honest. A number of officers believe their relations with the Japanese are as wholesome as those with the Caucasians.

To the Negro, Spokane police reports are much less favorable than to the Japanese. According to police, as well as other city officials, Negroes are frequently arrested for fighting, drinking, and consorting with Indians. Police are of the opinion that trouble always develops where Negro men and white women are involved. They report more complaints by property owners against Negroes than against any other racial group. Police maintain that Negroes are involved in an over-proportionate number of the street disorders. They also believe Negroes are the chief offenders in furnishing liquor to Indians in exchange for sexual liberties. According to detectives, this has been one of the most difficult problems that Spokane law-enforcement officers have to face. They find the problem sharply accentuated by soldiers who are quartered in this area. "Local" Negroes, however, are generally exonerated by police on charges of this kind.

Officers have little respect for Negro testimony in court. As one officer said, "Why, they're all liars, and you can't depend on a thing they say. They lie for themselves and then for each other. I don't ever pay any attention to what they say." Committals seem to bear out this contention, for a much larger percentage of Negroes are committed to institutions from Spokane than whites. Here, as in nearly all other places in America, the Negro seems to have the least opportunity of all minority groups to receive justice in the courts.

Negroes are frequently apprehended for stealing. Many complaints are made to law enforcement officers by whites on this count, but neither Indians nor Japanese are frequently charged. Some officers believe all Negroes steal. Others who are more aware of the general conditions report that Negroes steal because of the position into which they are forced by society. As one officer said, "I think I would steal too, if I were treated as they frequently are. Low wages and poor living conditions for the Negro, while those nearby are living in ease. Maybe he isn't all to blame."

Police believe that the big problem facing Spokane, as far as racial minorities are concerned, is the Negro and the Indian. They

also believe that the problem will increase, because the type of Negro now coming to Spokane is more inclined to conflict with the law than those who have lived here for many years. Police suggest that the best and quickest answer to the problem is careful segregation. According to police, the Negro has not yet developed morals and patterns of conduct that warrant his association with whites. They maintain the large numbers of Negroes arrested for immorality, drunkenness, and thievery are sufficient evidence of immature behavior, which justifies their unequal treatment. No favorable replies were received to the suggestion that perhaps Negroes were less able to cover up immorality and drunkenness than were whites. The training of the average police official is not calculated to encourage him to take into consideration the cause of the offender's conduct, inasmuch as he is usually interested only in the overt act.

There are no Negroes on the Spokane police force. Officials pointed out that public notice had been given admitting colored people to examinations, but added, "There is little likelihood that one will ever be appointed. That announcement was made strictly for its political value." One pointed out that, even should a Negro be appointed, he could scarcely be expected to function on the force. He continued, "Can you feature a black arresting a white in this town? Why, you would have to send out and bring in the policeman—and cold. The people in this town are not yet ready to accept policemen of color. It will take more education than they have at present." One must admit this policeman's analysis has merit. Certainly, one can hardly expect police departments and other publicly elected officials to take a lead on the race issue when our more idealistic institutions remain inactive in the matter.

The investigator appreciates the attitude shown by most police officials and the realistic approach they took toward the racial problem. At least they have some consciousness of the problem, a condition not found in some other groups studied. As a whole their attitude was one of fairness—of course, from the policemen's point of view. They were handling the problem as they knew it—not in a manner approved by social scientists, but with the idea of efficient law enforcement.

Police reports are compiled in the accompanying table in order to show the distribution of arrests by race, year, and sex.

Number and Percent of Arrests per 1000 Population in Spokane, Washington, by Racial Classification, 1940-1944*

Year	Sex	CAUCASIAN		NEGROID		JAPANESE	
		No. of arrests	Rate per 1000 population	No of arrests	Rate per 1000 population	No of arrests	Rate per 1000 population
1940	Male	7,219		135		10	
	Female	514		35		0	
	Total	7,739	55	170	540	10	28
1941	Male	9,680		208		13	
	Female	650		35		0	
	Total	10,330	74	243	426	13	29
1942	Male	8,839		213		7	
	Female	645		14		0	
	Total	9,484	67	227	455	7	14
1943	Male	8,704		154		22	
	Female	739		20		1	
	Total	9,443	66	174	315	23	15
1944	Male	7,639		155		25	
	Female	847		11		4	
	Total	8,486	64	166	332	29	18

* All population estimates are taken from Police Reports (mimeographed) of Spokane, Washington, 1940-44. Accurate results cannot be obtained by using the census figures, because no distinction is made in Oriental extraction if the number of persons of any nationality is under fifty. The Police Reports are not always clear whether the person is of Japanese, Chinese, or some other extraction. The records also list a category of "undetermined," which includes all races. This group, quite a sizable one, consists mostly of Caucasians. If an officer, in filling out the "arrest sheet," fails to identify the race, it is recorded as "undetermined." These figures are only approximations, but the investigator believes that they are significant.

Japanese have a much better arrest record than any other racial group, for they have only about one-half the expected arrest rate in proportion to the number of people in the Spokane area. A further examination of the data reveals no arrests for females of Japanese ancestry for the first three years for which figures are given. In 1940 and 1941 the population of the Japanese in the Spokane area was about 350, with ten and thirteen arrests, respectively. In 1942, with a small increase in population, arrests fell to seven for an all-time low. This reflects the fear held by Japanese after Pearl Harbor, inasmuch as they found it to their advantage to avoid contacts with

Caucasians as much as possible. When one takes into consideration the fact that Caucasians were especially alert for any infraction of the law by Japanese, this arrest record is all the more phenomenal.

In 1943, after the opening of the Relocation Program—when the Japanese population of Spokane was more than double that of 1940—the number of arrests increased to but twenty-three. These arrests included the only female during the four-year period, as compared with a yearly average of twenty-six Negro women from a population no greater than that of the Japanese. In 1944, with an increase of approximately 200 per cent in population over 1940, the arrests of Japanese increased to only twenty-nine, four of whom were female; the rate was only 18 per thousand of population, as contrasted with 64 per thousand for Caucasians. When one considers that the Japanese were seriously upset in their lives while in the Centers, this record is truly remarkable. The figures for the first half of 1945 were not available, but police believe the number of arrests that year was no greater than in 1944, though the increase in the population was substantial. A minimum of contacts with the law is characteristic of Japanese, who are generally peaceful and non-aggressive.

Crimes committed by Japanese are chiefly violations of traffic regulations, such infractions accounting for over 70 per cent of the total number of arrests. Vagrancy, loitering, gaming and gambling are other charges for which more than one arrest was made. Charges of immorality against Japanese are almost non-existent; if they engage in such practices, they manage to avoid the "clutches" of the law.

The record of the Negro is not so good as that of the Japanese, though it is by no means so bad as the picture of Negro crime for the United States as a whole. With only one-half more Negroes in the Spokane area in 1940 than Japanese, the arrest rate was 19.3 times as high. Many factors enter into such a high arrest rate. Negroes are easily detected, have few means of protection, are generally aggressive, often use liquor to excess, are somewhat given to immorality, and are constantly under general suspicion by whites. In 1941 and 1942 the noticeable increase in the number of Negro arrests was partly due to the increase in the Negro population. A lack of understanding of local mores also had its effect on Negro migrants and is probably reflected in the arrest rate. In the last two years

the arrest rate of the Negro declined slightly, so that some measure of adjustment to his new environment seems to be indicated.

In summary, it may be said that Spokane Negroes are guilty of more than their share of total violations of the law, but, according to comparable populations of other cities, they commit only one-half the crime that would normally be expected of them. The Negro is not a serious problem in Spokane as far as the law is concerned, nor is he often guilty of the more violent crimes for which he is frequently convicted in the East and the South.

HEALTH

The primary purposes of the American Medical Association and the American Dental Association, according to their own statements, are to promote, without discrimination as to race, color, or creed, the general health of the people of the United States; but, as in many other organizations, statements of policy are more easily made than executed. A similar statement could be made regarding welfare services as far as a policy of nondiscrimination is concerned. In this field several organizations were checked and few discriminations were found. These services, however, cannot be said to be completely free from racial prejudices and discriminations.

In Spokane County, there are two Japanese dentists and one Japanese physician. Negroes have neither dentists nor physicians of their own race. The Japanese physician is not a member of the American Medical Association and is not accorded the complete privileges of members of that body. It was not ascertained whether the dentists are members of the American Dental Association. This Japanese physician, a relocatee, has a sizable practice among Japanese, with several Caucasian patients. Friction among the Japanese, especially between "older" citizens and "newcomers", results in some of the Japanese calling a Caucasian rather than the Japanese physician. Others find it convenient to use him, because he speaks both Japanese and English fluently. Many Japanese report their first satisfactory diagnosis in years, for heretofore they were unable to understand an English-speaking doctor.

Whether professional jealousies are a factor in the refusal of the Spokane County Medical Association to accept this Japanese physician to membership is not certainly determined, but it appears not to be a factor. Reasons for refusal to accept the Japanese physician

were technical, according to statements of the Spokane Medical Association. At least, the physician under question once held membership in the King County Medical Association. Most white physicians who do not have a large practice welcome Japanese patients. Japanese are known among Spokane physicians as excellent "financial risks."

Negroes generally select physicians from Caucasians. Most physicians seem willing to practice for Negroes, but those who are unwilling to do so are reluctant to admit it. Several physicians complained that Negroes were bad risks, but hastened to add that any refusal to call upon them would not be attributed to racial prejudices.

A Negro osteopath reports an extensive practice among whites, with over half of his practice coming from others than his own race. A number of "name" people of Spokane, mostly females, patronize this doctor.

Negroes have no trouble securing dental service. Many go to dentists who publicly advertise for patronage. No instances of discrimination were reported by those interviewed. Most of the Japanese go to the two Japanese dentists for their work; but both of these also have a large number of Caucasian patients.

Hospitals of Spokane accept all races, but do so with certain reservations. A marked discrimination is shown between Negro and Japanese patients—with the Japanese much preferred. All hospitals reported Negroes undesirable as patients from a number of points of view. Negro women are not kept in wards, but in separate rooms. This is an expensive practice for the hospitals, because many Negroes are able to pay only ward prices, and under present conditions all rooms can be easily filled with paying guests, so that to care for Negroes is economically unprofitable. In at least one hospital, men patients of different races are kept in the same ward, but this is never practiced with women. According to hospital authorities, women are much less tolerant of other races than men and, therefore, must be segregated. Nurses in Spokane hospitals frequently object to waiting on Negroes and occasionally on Japanese.

Negroes are not permitted to donate blood to blood-banks in Spokane. The American Red Cross and the Armed Services still have a policy of separate units for plasma. Negroes who wish to

donate blood are ignored, because such a small Negro population as that in Spokane makes it unprofitable for medical authorities to supply separate units for blood donations. Japanese women were supposed to be allowed to donate blood, but the authorities questioned had never had occasion to test such a supposition. But the Spokane authorities should not be charged with discrimination because of refusing to take blood from Negroes. They are merely following policies dictated to them by the Armed Services, which refuse to recognize the findings of science with reference to basic resemblances in the blood of races. Influence is exerted by Army leaders, frequently Southerners, who are policy makers for that body, to continue such a practice of discrimination. Caucasians unhesitatingly give their blood to Negroes, but recoil in horror at having Negro blood given to them. Negroes, when supported by such scientific discoveries, should use these points to press their cause of racial equality.

WELFARE AGENCIES

County and city welfare agencies report a minimum of contacts with racial groups. Though few individuals of either race apply for assistance, Negroes exceed Japanese proportionately. The Japanese who need temporary help are cared for in a hostel sponsored by local churches and the War Relocation Authority, but a few have necessarily sought help from the welfare agencies. The number has been so small, however, that it is difficult to state any general policy concerning the attitudes of the persons directing the agencies. All agencies deny racial discrimination, and their statements are confirmed by individuals who have had intimate contacts with such groups.

City welfare agencies report occasional Negro patrons, but no Japanese. Cases were so isolated that interviews were not practicable. If city agencies practice discrimination it was not ascertained by this survey. The Japanese were given special assistance by the County Welfare Department in co-operation with the War Relocation Authority. Fifteen Japanese cases had been handled at the time of this survey, and indications were that the number would increase as the Japanese with the lowest financial resources would be relocated. According to statements of officials of the agency, a policy of no discrimination is in force, yet Japanese report instances of nonco-operation of this agency. Whether this is due to racial feeling

or other causes is undetermined. Early in the relocation program the personnel of the War Relocation Authority reported that social workers were slow to investigate cases. According to the Welfare Department, the cause for this was a shortage of case workers rather than any particular unwillingness to deal with racial groups. It was later revealed, however, that some social workers were hesitant about investigating cases involving Japanese. After the Director of the War Relocation Authority explained to these case workers the needs and some of the peculiar problems of Japanese who were being relocated, these social workers have been co-operative as well as prompt in investigating cases. According to Negroes themselves, welfare agencies show no discrimination where they are involved.

The Family Welfare Agency of Spokane has never had Japanese apply for assistance. A few Negroes have done so, and no discrimination was shown. These cases, however, were so few, so widely scattered, and so insignificant that the workers at the agency believe they have had insufficient experience with races to state an established policy.

Old-age assistance programs and pensions are administered without discriminations. A single case was reported where aid was refused, but a careful investigation revealed that the person in question had not met the state regulations required in order to receive benefits.

It is the opinion of the investigator that little real discrimination exists in either health services or welfare work. In fact, the alleged discriminations investigated were found to be about as would be expected in the average white community, where personal differences, economic status, and political manipulations cause an occasional worthy case to be purposely overlooked.

NEWSPAPERS

The two larger newspapers published in Spokane are generally fair and unbiased in both news and the editorial columns with respect to Japanese and Negroes. In "The Forum" of both papers, letters that are favorable and unfavorable to minority groups are published. Two members of the editorial staff have a well-established reputation for fairness when dealing with such matters. Evidence shows that occasionally an individual reporter may suppress a news item favorable to Japanese, but as a whole the policies are

fair Accomplishments, experiences, and statements of whites and colored persons are treated alike as far as publication is concerned The editorials which have appeared in connection with various types of discrimination have generally been favorable to racial minorities

No reporters or other personnel from colored minorities are employed on either paper, but it should be stated in fairness to the papers that both Japanese and Negroes were inconsequential minorities in Spokane before the war. A few of the reporters on the morning paper seem to be better qualified than the average reporter to discuss matters related to race and its special problems, particularly with reference to conditions in Spokane People interested in promoting better relations between races should commend these reporters when able contributions are made by them to newspapers, and should inform the publisher that they approve of his policies concerning racial groups.

A small paper published in the Hillyard Area has commented unfavorably from time to time against racial minorities, especially the Japanese-Americans. Though the material in this paper had the appearance of "race-baiting," the circulation and influence of the publication are so small that most Spokane people do not even know of the existence of such a newspaper.

No Negro or Japanese-American weeklies are published in the city, though many Negroes subscribe to one or more papers dedicated to the espousal of their cause Japanese receive material published in the Relocation Centers as well as other printed matter supporting Japanese-Americans

BURIALS AND FUNERAL SERVICES

Funeral services and burial of the dead are an important factor in the total pattern of the social life of a people. Such patterns as found in America often help to determine the acceptance or rejection of a racial minority. For example, in Memphis, Tennessee, whites and Japanese are buried in the same cemeteries, but Chinese are buried with Negroes in different cemeteries. Where race prejudice is pronounced, racial groups are often buried in separate cemeteries, or in segregated units of the same cemetery. This is not true in Spokane. Negroes bury their dead beside Caucasians, though in life they seldom work and live alongside of each other. If Negroes are

financially able to purchase a plot, at least theoretically, they are buried without discrimination, though "prospective purchasers" are usually shown plots within their financial reach—a practice which implies a form of segregation. The same pattern is true for Japanese, though as a racial group an even more pronounced tendency toward burying friends in the same lot is apparent than is true of Negroes. If Japanese, instead of burying, cremate (as they frequently do), discrimination does not apply. All funeral homes in Spokane service Japanese and Negro burials. Some parlors specialize in these racial groups as well as in Irish, Swedish, Norwegian, and others. Negroes are less prone to patronize a single funeral establishment than are Japanese, although the tendency on the part of Negroes to follow such a pattern is well developed. Whites frequently attend funerals of Negroes, and vice versa, but reciprocal attendance between Caucasians and Japanese is less common. A partial explanation is that "old" Negro residents of Spokane have numerous and intimate contacts with a large number of whites, whereas Japanese have been inclined to live more isolated lives. Negro ministers generally conduct Negro services, but in Japanese funerals, whites have frequently assisted, or have even conducted the services, for sometimes Japanese ministers have not been available for the services. Both Japanese and Negroes of the Catholic faith have Caucasian Catholic officiants.

Funeral services for colored persons are conducted similarly to those of Caucasians, yet, according to morticians, Negro services are more inclined to ritual, and the bereaved frequently are less inhibited in the expression of emotions than are Caucasians. This is not necessarily a Negro trait, for many immigrant groups are even more expressive emotionally on such occasions than Negroes. It can be concluded, therefore, that Negroes and Japanese have funerals without any marked discrimination, other than occasionally having to be content with poorer equipment to allow the better to be used at Caucasian funerals if the white and colored services are being conducted simultaneously. Such practices were defended by morticians on the ground that Caucasian funerals are more profitable and thus justify the use of better equipment.

BARBER SHOPS AND BEAUTY PARLORS

Barber shop operators are careful to service only whites unless the customer is a personal friend. A colored man traveling in Spokane will be wise to bring his razor and shaving cream. Japanese may get haircuts at most places, though a few shops prefer not to have them, and two shops thought they would refuse them service if they should ask for it. Women's tonsorial shops follow about the same pattern as those catering to men. Negresses seldom, if ever, patronize Caucasians parlors—never unless definite appointments are made with the knowledge that the customers are Negroid. The majority of the shops accept Japanese, though a few operators will refuse to do work for them. Many Japanese make appointments, or are confident that they will be served before they enter a beauty parlor. Some Japanese have friends who do their work at home. An operator who was asked why she would work for Japanese and not Negroes gave the investigator a "dirty" look and replied curtly, "Have you ever put your hands on a Negro's head?"

White manicurists follow much the same pattern as beauty parlor operators, refusing to service Negro women. A worker was questioned about her objections to rendering service to a Negro and answered, "I couldn't afford to have a Negro man's hands in mine in public." The investigator wondered about some of the husk-like men's hands he had seen manicure girls fondle without much difficulty. One manicurist stated she always did the work as requested, but said, "After I have finished I always feel as if I had been handling a snake."

Shoeshine parlors operated by whites may or may not shine a Negro's shoes. Of those questioned, two will not, but three will. One man said that he would shine the shoes of anyone who came to his establishment. Another's method of avoiding Negroes was to pretend not to see them if they sat in his booth. "If you'll ignore 'em long enough they'll leave and they don't generally come back," he stated. Another shine boy said, "I know this is a nigger job, and I'll be damned if I let 'em just rub it in on me." Except in barber shops, however, white shine boys are more common in Spokane than Negroes. No place investigated had ever refused to shine shoes for Japanese, though few shops have Japanese patrons.

ANTI-RACIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Organized resistance in Spokane, except against the Japanese, is unimportant. In the last ten years no efforts have been made by the Silver Shirts or the Klu Klux Klan to intimidate Negroes and Jews. Since the beginning of World War II, however, Japanese have been the butt of organized resistance, especially after the government announced plans for relocation of Japanese and permitted their unrestricted return to the West Coast.

Anti-Japanese propaganda has been spread in the United States by certain vested interests since long before World War II began. Late in 1944 organized efforts were begun to prevent the return of Japanese to the Coastal area. These efforts had some effect in eastern Washington, especially in the places where evacuees were relocating. As far as could be determined, the Anti-Pearl Harbor League, Inc., Auburn, Washington, has not sent representatives to Spokane, but literature has been widely distributed, and several merchants have received window cards for display, though very few cards were actually used. It is not known what particular techniques were employed to approach people, but many of the persons who received literature were among those whose sons had been killed in the service, had been taken prisoner, or had been wounded in the Pacific Areas. It is believed these names were obtained from newspaper accounts. Below are reproduced a few of the cards used by this league as window displays:

No Japs Wanted

Send Japs
Back
To Japan

We Poison
Rats (Japs) Here

Membership applications and/or blanks for membership were received by a number of persons, though no one was found who admitted membership in this organization. Below are facsimiles of the application for membership, a pledge, and the Free Holder's Pledge:

Remember Pearl Harbor League, Inc
P O. Box 576, Auburn, Wash
Application for Membership

(Last Name) (First Name) (Initials) [Sic]

(P O Address) (City) (State)

I, the undersigned, hereby endorse the efforts of the Remember Pearl Harbor League, Inc., and apply for membership.

Signature

The efforts of the league are described in the Auburn, Washington, *Globe-News* of November 15, 1944, as follows under "Aims and Objectives":

To amend the Constitution so that citizenship be deprived all persons of the Japanese race, no Japanese could ever gain Citizenship and no Japanese could ever live in the United States, a possession or territory of the United States

A PLEDGE

I pledge to my fellowmen, that I will not buy, sell or have in my possession any merchandise or farm products made or produced by Japanese; that I will not sell, lease, or rent to Japanese real estate of any description.

I also pledge myself to do all in my power legally [sic] to boycott stores, laundries, theatres, churches, colleges, universities, and all other places of business, of learning or pleasure patronized, operated or frequented by the Japanese.

The above I pledge on my Sacred Honor.

Remember Pearl Harbor League, Inc.
P. O. Box 576, Auburn, Wash.

Free Holder's Pledge

We, the undersigned, owners of Real Estate in the State of Washington, U.S.A., in order to protect our lands from injurious farming practices and to conserve our soil by the proper use of cover crops and other conservation methods, including the restricted use of irrigation, do hereby bind and pledge ourselves not to sell, lease or rent our lands to Japanese or to anyone of Japanese ancestry.

We further agree that in leasing land we will insert a provision prohibiting the subleasing of such land or the assignment of the lease to any person who is a member of the Japanese race or of Japanese ancestry.

We so bind and pledge ourselves so long as we are free holders of the State of Washington."

..... Free Holder

P. O. Address..... Town..... County.....

The Pledge Cards and Free Holder's Pledge Cards show some of the particular aims of the League. Ministerial associations were written an open letter, a copy is reproduced herewith, which was given the investigator by a Spokane minister. The letter, quoted on page 235, is self-explanatory. It is to the credit of ministerial associations that they stood against such blatant discriminations.

Along with this material came a twenty-four-page pamphlet, "Evidence of Disloyalty of American-Born Japanese", which to the uninformed may have been impressive; but with one who was even moderately informed, it probably carried little weight toward making unfavorable impressions against the Japanese. It is believed that the influence of this organization in the Spokane area was not considerable.

An attempt was made by the Japanese Exclusion League to organize certain groups of individuals during the late summer of

AN OPEN LETTER
To All Ministerial Associations

Auburn, Wash., May 11, 1945

GREETINGS:

We, the members of the Remember Pearl Harbor League, Inc., view with surprise and alarm, the encouragement your several associations are reported to be giving the Japs to return to this critical coastal area, at the very time armed forces of America are at death grips with the most dangerous foe in the history of our nation.

Within recent days the harbors of Puget Sound have been teeming with vessels of every nature, all units of our armada in prosecuting war against Japan.

The Japanese were a menace to these very harbors and our ships, when General DeWitt ordered them evacuated—*they still are!*

Are you good ministers unmindful of the menace these Japs you are pleading for will be, when they see our valiant soldiers invade to destroy the only nation to whom these Japanese-Americans are loyal?

Surely, you gentlemen of the cloth, know that every Japanese-American you seek to favor has been indoctrinated with sadistic philosophy of emperor worship.

In the ratio in which our soldiers succeed in destroying our treacherous enemy, in the same degree will these Japanese you shield and protect become fanatically dangerous here at home.

Therefore, we deplore your misguided efforts in their behalf and beg of you to cease and desist before you have unwittingly brought back this disloyal and dangerous enemy.

In truth and fact, gentlemen, your humanitarian gesture, in behalf of the Japs, is comparable and parallel to that of the historical Trojan horse incident. Surely you do not want to sell Uncle Sam down the river.

REMEMBER PEARL HARBOR LEAGUE, INC.
P.O. Box 576, Auburn, Wash.

1945. Persons who operate businesses in which Japanese frequently excel were approached (florists, for example) for memberships. Concerted efforts were made to disseminate propaganda at the United Service Organization Mrs Julia Peters was featured in a lecture to various groups, describing horrible Japanese atrocities with the intention of creating hatred that could be used as an opening to solicit memberships. These memberships ranged from \$10 00 to \$100.00.

Other efforts to discredit Japanese have been made by various organizations, among which are: United Berry Growers of Forest Grove, Washington, and the State Convention of the American Legion at Wenatchee, Washington, August 26, 1944. The following is an excerpt from a proposal accepted by the Wenatchee convention:

Punishment of all Japanese responsible for atrocities committed against American prisoners of war following the signing of the peace treaty. Alien Japanese to be deported and permanently excluded from the United States. All American citizens of Japanese ancestry who have expressed word or act sympathetic to the Mikado's government be deprived of such citizenship. Opposing the ownership of all properties by Japanese subjects and all such subjects be deported permanently from the shores within six months of the cessation of hostilities.⁶

As is well known, the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Spokane has, for some time, been bitterly opposed to Japanese. Long before the Richard Naito Case, which caused so much commotion in Spokane, this organization was on record as opposed to the Japanese. We quote from the *Spokane Standard* of June 22, 1944, to get the policy of this body:

At the 24th annual encampment in Spokane last week (June 1944) the Department of Washington Veterans of Foreign Wars issued a mandate to their national body for the deportation of all Japanese to the Gilbert or Marshall Islands, or other islands of the Pacific for work of a national value of building up these outposts. The mandate did not specify those of Japanese blood or race, but only the word Japanese.

It is apparent that a combination of all these organizations have had some influence in developing hatred of the Japanese. As yet, no organization has been popular in its own right, but each has a small individual following. These small groups have protested

⁶ Auburn *Globe-News*, October 18, 1944, Auburn, Washington

loudly, perhaps on the theory that those who cry the loudest will be heeded.

CONCLUSIONS

The treatment of racial groups is the greatest barrier to America's moral leadership in the world today. Our unfair practices have been widely publicized by other nations of the world. This has not been limited to our enemies in the war, particularly Japan, but our allies as well have been extremely critical of our treatment of racial minorities. Russia has been open with criticism, with literally hundreds of writers taking up the pen against our policies. Even France and Great Britain have been critical of our policies of segregation. This affects our international prestige, power, and future security. Therefore America must demonstrate to the world that its racial minorities can be made a part of its democracy and, until we show a willingness to put into practice with reference to race those principles of democracy which we demand of other nations in parts of their institutional life, we may expect the world to look upon us with suspicion.

Upon the basis of the investigation, the writer finds that:

1. Both Japanese and Negroes are gradually being segregated and compressed into restricted living areas, which are the poorest residential districts of Spokane. Such a policy of segregation has the unofficial consent of the people of Spokane and is the ultimate aim of realtors of this area. This policy is dangerous, for it creates a whole tension area, the borders of which will gradually expand. It is the core and beginning of a slum district that eventually will become an eyesore as well as be costly to the entire community. In the last five years it has become increasingly difficult for either Negroes or Japanese to buy property outside certain areas arbitrarily set up by the Spokane Board of Realtors.

2. Discrimination is practiced by hotels, restaurants, resorts, amusement houses, hospitals, beauty parlors, barber shops, insurance companies, landlords, and other dispensers of personal services. This discrimination is more widespread against Negroes than Japanese and more against Negro "newcomers" than the "old" colored population of Spokane. Japanese are discriminated against in some hotels and resorts, hospitals, a few beauty parlors and barber shops,

and an occasional restaurant, as well as in rentals, purchase of property, and certain kinds of insurance. Practices of discrimination against Negroes and Japanese are not as rigid in Spokane as in other sections of the country, such as the South, though a tendency toward such patterns is evident. Such discrimination is an unsound practice. With the small numbers of Japanese and Negroes in Spokane, the writer believes that they could be assimilated into the total life of Spokane with a minimum of friction. Above all this, the practice of discrimination as outlined above is undemocratic, and, if not curbed or eliminated, will tend to create further tensions, or even to cause an explosive situation.

3. The tendency on the part of the people as well as city authorities is to minimize seriously the importance of racial tensions instead of trying to learn about the problem and tackle it in a co-operative spirit. The public is lethargic, whereas the city administration is fearful. There has been no preparation for handling racial disturbances should they occur, nor is there a program of study of causes of tensions and preventative law enforcement. Individuals "do not wish to be bothered about race as long as they are not pressing on me." It is a case of "shutting the barn door after the horse has been stolen." Tensions have grown in the last five years and will continue to grow if present attitudes of whites continue to prevail.

4. Social opportunities are definitely limited for both Japanese and Negroes. The small numbers of these races make it unprofitable to provide entertainment for their own kind, and whites have not been co-operative in developing programs integrating these racial groups into Caucasian activities. If human worth and dignity of the individual are the bases for judging individuals, there seems to be little reason for existing inequalities. The institutions which have encouraged racial participation should be praised for such work, but additional steps should be taken to extend this mutual participation.

5. Religious participation falls far short of the ideal in a Christian community. A city-wide campaign on the part of the ministry to further racial co-operation in each community should be effective. Caucasians are passive in this matter and often resent the aggression of racial groups. Token co-operation, with its attendant hypocrisy, may be worse than no co-operation at all. The few groups which have assisted Japanese and occasionally Negroes are to be com-

mended for their work. Churches should take the lead in Spokane in developing a spirit of co-operation, as well as helping break down existing barriers in an effort to eliminate racial tensions.

6. Racial groups have one of their most wholesome relationships in the field of public education in Spokane, which is characterized by a minimum of discrimination. Educational leaders are to be commended for frequent attempts to develop more fully the possibilities of inter-racial co-operation by a continuation of the present program, as well as its extension. No agency offers a better opportunity for constructive work in the field of race relations than does the school. Business education is extremely limited for Spokane Negroes, but there appears to be little reason to encourage schools to accept Negro applicants when these individuals have little or no opportunity to find employment once they have completed a business education. Education on the college level is open to racial groups without discrimination, but many individuals refuse to take advantage of these privileges because of limited opportunities for using such training. Technical training is denied prospective colored nurses in some Spokane hospitals. Such practices are unfair, and steps should be taken to point out to those who allow such discriminations that its spirit is not only undemocratic but also unfair in a country that boasts of equality of opportunity.

7. Recreational opportunities are enjoyed by only a small part of races other than Caucasian. Movies and theaters usually do not practice discrimination; other sources of recreation, such as that sponsored by the Young Men's Christian Association, have limited opportunities for racial groups. The recreational pattern varies widely, and the discrimination depends upon facilities and their operational staff. In recreational activities, Negroes are at a disadvantage more often than Japanese.

8. Medical services are available to racial groups in a limited sense. Private calls to physicians are usually accepted willingly, and dental service is offered equally to all races. Hospitalization, however, presents a difficulty to all racial groups, as some form of discrimination is practiced by all hospitals, though hospitals are not uniform in discriminatory practices. Facilities at some hospitals are not open to a Japanese physician even though he may be serving

only patients of his own race. Such practices should be exposed to the public for acceptance or disapproval.

9. The Spokane press is fair in its treatment of racial groups. Though large newspapers in Spokane do not always take a positive attitude toward inter-racial co-operation, at least they have refrained from campaigning against racial minorities. A small weekly publication has campaigned actively against racial groups, but has been ineffective in its efforts to stir up hatred against such minorities. The press is to be commended for its fair reporting of incidents and news involving racial groups. It should also be commended for frequent editorials encouraging elimination of discrimination, criticizing the undemocratic principles involved in such practices, and pointing out the value to a community of full co-operation between the races.

10. A few agencies have been instrumental in helping some racial groups to adjust themselves to the predominant white community life. Chief among these are the Inter-Church Council on Race Relations, the Council on Race Relations, and the War Relocation Authority. Other groups should take up such work as a long-time program. Liberal members of organizations should use their influence in initiating and developing these programs. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, the Urban League, and similar Negro organizations are not so effective as they should be. Instead of developing a program of education toward racial equality, they tend to magnify isolated racial incidents to the detriment of co-operation between both races. Negro leaders in Spokane need a higher concept of the purpose of such organizations and a better understanding of techniques for making the influence of these organizations felt in community life.

11. Frictions among the racial groups themselves are widespread in the Spokane area. Negroes are class-conscious and well stratified, such a situation not being justified in the light of facts revealed. Such divisions tend to weaken whatever efforts Negroes have made to secure co-operation of whites and offers doubting whites an opportunity to point out that failure at co-operation within their own groups is sufficient to prove that co-operation with whites is impracticable. Among the Japanese, there is friction between those who have lived in Spokane for a long time and those who have

settled there from the Relocation Centers. Both groups should realize that they succeed or fail as a unit as far as whites are concerned. "Local" Japanese will never be able to drive out newcomers; neither will newcomers be able to assimilate "locals" by affecting a spirit of superiority. Japanese leaders, as well as whites, should make concerted attempts in every possible way to reconcile these groups.⁷

12. Japanese and Negroes are usually refused licenses to operate businesses in Spokane, even though Japanese applicants are citizens of the United States. Attitudes of city officials vary with local conditions. Early in the course of this study, police officials were high in their praise of Japanese conduct, but later, according to newspaper accounts, were on record as opposed to granting any privileges, even license, to Japanese. Officials not only expressed themselves as against these people, but were quoted as willing to campaign actively to eliminate business opportunities for Japanese. Police officials object to giving licenses to Negroes on the grounds that they are dirty, rowdy, inefficient, and often troublesome.

13. Welfare agencies are generally fair in dealing with racial groups. An occasional difference may be interpreted by some as discrimination, but the bulk of the cases investigated seem to indicate that little prejudice is present. Japanese and Negroes seldom have cause in Spokane to call upon welfare agencies.

14. The public, as a whole, is not interested in racial problems; only a few persons are vitally interested; a few are unequivocally opposed to racial co-operation; about one-half is indifferent to problems arising out of such relationships. These attitudes were determined from the questionnaire sent out by the investigator. Such attitudes of indifference are dangerous to Spokane's welfare.

15. Much of the increase in Negro and Japanese population of the last five years will be permanent. Perhaps 1200 Japanese and a somewhat larger number of Negroes will be left to be permanently integrated into Spokane's life. With changes rapidly taking place on the West Coast, it is not impossible for Spokane's Negro population to show a sizable increase in the next few months. Additional Japanese have arrived from the Relocation Centers, but with re-

⁷ A complete discussion of the tensions among Negroes in the Intermountain Northwest may be found in "Racial Tensions among Negroes in the Intermountain Northwest," forthcoming in the December (1946) issue of *Phylon*.

moval of many that are already in Spokane to the West Coast as the situation there becomes less tense, the permanent population of the Japanese is not likely to exceed the present number. The investigator believes that the number in this area could be appreciably increased without reaching a point where racial tensions are dangerous. In comparison with other cities of similar size in America, Spokane could assimilate several thousand Negroes. If the few Negroes she now has cannot be integrated into her social and economic life, it indicates a lack of consciousness of social problems or a lack of knowledge of how to meet these problems. Cities of similar size in the United States have been able to accommodate themselves to large racial groups with a minimum of friction.

16. Workmen will continue after the war to find reasonable, ample employment in the Spokane labor market, but in a limited period of time difficulty is likely to arise over the lack of employment. At present, both Negroes and Japanese are definitely limited in occupational choices. As jobs become less plentiful, these racial groups will suffer, not only first, but longest and most acutely. They will be employed last and laid off first, because they do not have union protection. There is discrimination among labor unions toward both Negroes and Japanese—the American Federation of Labor being more discriminatory toward the Negro than the Congress for Industrial Organization is, and both unions discriminating against Japanese.

17. Management, as well as labor, is at fault in refusing to hire individuals of racial groups. Management often gives as an excuse for not hiring such persons the fear of unions, when it is obvious that other reasons also enter into the picture. Some evidence was found to indicate that in a few cases management encouraged workmen to express dissatisfaction when suggestions were made to hire such persons.

18. Tensions and interracial strife in Spokane are not of such a nature that immediate dangers of violence are present, but the seeds of such action are there. At present, these disturbances can not be considered acute and outbreaks do not seem immediately likely, though positive action should be taken to reduce the existing friction and avert such future possible calamity.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The investigator recommends:

1. That groups similar to the Council of Racial Relations be formed in other cities and towns of the state and that their work be broadly patterned after the work of the Spokane and Seattle Race Relations Council: (a) that these groups be integrated into a state organization with annual meetings with discussions considering the latest findings and developments in the field of race relations; (b) that this state group be a part of a national organization with similar aims; (c) that all groups and officers be interracial and intercultural in character, including leaders who have shown ability, integrity, and forthrightness in the field of race relations.

2. That a state committee also be appointed by the governor of the state of Washington and its work be closely integrated with the work of local committees: (a) that a statewide study be made of conditions, emphasizing types and instances of discrimination, and placing of responsibility for such discriminations; (b) that this committee work out a plan for preventative law enforcement which will contribute to the eradication of unrest; (c) that this committee be charged with the responsibility of working for the harmonious integration of elements into the community and developing workable programs for local interracial councils; (d) that this committee work with business, labor, and management to seek removal of racial discrimination, segregations, and other inequalities which are at the heart of tension and unrest throughout the state.

3. That teachers and school personnel be taught more fully the implications of race through a program of education.

4. That these organizations object to national discrimination and practices that encourage white superiority in movies, literature, art, newspapers, and so forth, calling attention to these inequalities both publicly and privately.

5. That colleges encourage students to study courses designed to foster a better understanding of racial issues.

6. That propaganda be distributed to show the inconsistencies between a workable democracy and racial intolerance. Movies, newspapers, and radio could be effectively used.

7. That Race Relations Councils carry on an active campaign to enforce Executive Order No. 9346 and urge adoption of federal legislation perpetuating this order.

8. That the Race Relations Councils sponsor and lobby for a "Civil Rights Bill" to be introduced into the next legislature to make it unlawful:

For any person who shall deny to any other person because of race, creed or color, the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges of any public place or public resort, accommodation, assemblage or amusement. Such action should cause the individuals operating such an establishment to be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor that shall be punishable by a fine . . .

9. That the Anti-Pearl Harbor League, Japanese Exclusion League, and similar organizations be discouraged in the work they are doing.

10. That these committees be provided a sum of money adequate to carry out the above recommendations on behalf of the citizens of the community, this money being pro-rated on the basis of formulae determined by the committee appointed by the Governor of the state of Washington.

11. That in regard to Japanese relocation we urge upon the government: (a) Immediate establishment of an authority to make full use of available resources for food, housing, employment, and adjustment; (b) that a Committee of Claims be appointed by Congress and empowered to make evacuees eligible for damage brought to them through evacuation.

APPENDIX

To the One Answering This Questionnaire:

This study is being conducted in order to find out, if possible, certain facts relative to racial attitudes in the Northwest. Your honest opinions and immediate co-operation in this work will be appreciated. Please check the blank in numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 13 and 15. In others write the answer so indicated by question or statement. Please feel free to express yourself without restraint.

Questionnaire on Racial Attitudes

1. Do you own your home?..... Rent?..... Board?..... Live in Camp?..... Project (housing)?..... Live with your parents or a relative?..... Live in hotel?.....
2. If a renter, in which bracket do you fall? \$15-24..... \$25-34..... \$35-44..... \$45-54..... \$55 and up.....
3. Do you rent unfurnished?..... Furnished?..... Apartment?..... Flat?.....
4. What is your national origin? Japanese..... Jewish..... German..... Negro..... Swedish..... Norwegian..... Danish..... English..... Scotch-Irish..... Italian..... Slavic..... Mexican..... Other.....
5. How long have you lived in your present location?..... State?.....
6. What racial group do you dislike most?..... Least?.....
7. Have you ever lived in contact with other racial groups for a period of a year or longer?.....
8. Would you object to living near Jews?..... Negroes?..... Japanese?.....
9. If you answer "yes" to Number 8 above, please state on the blanks below, or on the back of the questionnaire, your reason.
.....
10. Have any groups ever encouraged you to co-operate with other racial groups?..... Have any urged nonco-operation?..... If so, give the names of these groups, stating which urged co-operation and which nonco-operation.....
11. Which racial groups in your area do you prefer least?..... If your answer is either Jews, Japanese, or Negroes, will you state your reason for a greater

dislike of one than the other?.....

12. If you own a home, and a Negro, Jew, or Japanese bought next door to you, would you consider that sufficient reason to sell your property?..... If he bought in the same block?..... If a Negro, Jew, or Japanese had lived in the block for a number of years and had the respect of others in the area, would you still refrain from purchasing property in this block?..... Across the street?.....
13. Do you prefer racial segregation?..... By streets?..... By blocks?.....
14. Are you a member of a Labor Union?..... A.F.L..... C.I.O..... Other..... If so, do you think that Americans of other racial stocks, such as the Negro and Japanese, should belong to the Unions?..... Should these racial groups belong to the same American Legion Posts as whites?.....
15. Do you think racial groups should attend schools together?..... Theaters?..... Dances?..... Swimming Pools?..... Eat in the same restaurants?..... Stay at the same hotels?..... Be trained in the same army units?..... Attend the same churches?.....
16. Would you object to a well-trained Negro or Japanese acting as a teacher in your local schools, if his qualifications were the equal of, or better than, the qualifications of the whites?..... If you object to one and not the other, please state why.....

17. What is your age (nearest year)?..... Sex?..... What is your educational attainment (highest grade attained in school)?..... Do you belong to a civic club?..... Are you a member of the church?..... In which church is your membership (Denomination)?.....
18. What is your annual income? \$1000-2000..... \$2001-4000..... \$4001-6000..... \$6001-8000..... Over \$8000.....

Note: *Please do not sign your name to the above.* This information will be kept strictly confidential. Mail to T. H. Kennedy, Washington State College, Pullman, Washington, unless otherwise directed.

Thank You

NOTES ON MILLAY'S *THE KING'S HENCHMAN*

PAUL P. KIES
Professor of English

The chief source of Edna St. Vincent Millay's *The King's Henchman* (1927), the libretto of the excellent American opera by Deems Taylor, is not the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, as an unnamed author says in the *Review of Reviews*¹, but the significant details are stated by William of Malmesbury (ca. 1095 - ca. 1143) thus:

There are some persons, indeed, who endeavour to dim his exceeding glory by saying, that in his earlier years he [King Edgar] was cruel to his subjects, and libidinous in respect of virgins. Their first accusations they exemplify thus. There was, in his time, one Athelwold, a nobleman of celebrity and one of his confidants. The king had commissioned him to visit Elfthrida, daughter of Ordgar, duke of Devonshire, (whose charms had so fascinated the eyes of some persons that they commended her to the king), and to offer her marriage, if her beauty were really equal to report. Hastening on his embassy, and finding everything consonant to general estimation, he concealed his mission from her parents and procured the damsel for himself. Returning to the king, he told a tale which made for his own purpose; that she was a girl nothing out of the common track of beauty, and by no means worthy such transcendent dignity. When Edgar's heart was disengaged from this affair, and employed on other amours, some tattlers acquainted him, how completely Athelwold had duped him by his artifices. Paying him in his own coin, that is, returning him deceit for deceit, he showed the earl a fair countenance, and, as in a sportive manner, appointed a day when he would visit his far-famed lady. Terrified, almost to death, with this dreadful pleasantry, he hastened before to his wife, entreating that she would administer to his safety by attiring herself as unbecomingly as possible: then first disclosing the intention of such a proceeding. But what did not this woman dare? She was hardy enough to deceive the confidence of her first lover, her first husband; to call up every charm by art, and to omit nothing which could stimulate the desire of a young and powerful man. Nor did events happen contrary to her design. For he fell so desperately in love with her the moment he saw her, that, dissembling his indignation, he sent for the earl into a wood at Warewelle, called Harewood, under pretence of hunting, and ran him through with a javelin.²

The above account is generally regarded by modern historians as legendary,³ although the historical Eadgar (944-75) in 964 did marry

¹ LXXV (April 27, 1927), 435-36.

² *Chronicle of the Kings of England* (Bohn's Antiquarian Library edition), tr. John Sharpe, ed. J. A. Giles (London, 1895), 159-60.

³ Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen (New York, 1885 ff.), XVI (1888), 367-69.

Elfrida (called Aelfthryth in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), daughter of Ordgar and widow of Athelwold, after the husband had died in 962.

The legend had been dramatized by Aaron Hill in 1710 as *Elfrid* and revised by him in 1731 as *Athelwold*. The ending of *The King's Henchman* resembles *Elfrid* in two striking features: in neither tragedy does Eadgar marry the widow, and in both he not only forgives Aethelwold for the deceit but even praises the dead friend highly, particularly for bravery. (In *Athelwold*, Hill ennoble the character of Elfrid, and she does not betray her husband.) Was Miss Millay acquainted with Hill's *Elfrid*? Various features of her piece, such as the Old English local color, indicate that she made careful preparation.

The Old English atmosphere and points of local color introduced by Miss Millay, especially in Act I, are effective and delightful. In the eleven-line poem sung by Maccus at the very beginning, however, she overdoes the alliteration; whereas Old English poetry frequently has only two alliterating syllables in a line and very seldom over three, about half of her lines have four.

December, 1946

RESEARCH STUDIES
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Entered as second-class matter December 26, 1936, at the post office at Pullman, Washington, under Act of August 24, 1912.

Research Studies of the State College of Washington is published in Pullman, Washington, by the State College of Washington. It is issued four times a year—in March, June, September, and December.

PURPOSE. *Research Studies* was established to provide a medium of publication for articles of research in the pure sciences and arts; it is limited to material making a contribution to knowledge. Its pages are open to the faculty and the advanced students of the State College of Washington.

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RESEARCH STUDIES of the STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

Volume XIV

December, 1946

Number 4

THE COMPOSITION AND EARLY STAGE HISTORY OF *MASKS AND FACES*

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Although we think of Charles Reade as a Victorian novelist, he himself hoped that posterity would remember him as a dramatist. His self-composed epitaph, "Here lies Charles Reade, Dramatist, Novelist, Journalist," clearly shows the scale of values by which he measured his own literary achievements. Reade, however, misjudged the relative merits of his varied activities, for today he is remembered as the author of *The Cloister and the Hearth* but almost entirely forgotten as the writer and translator of innumerable plays.

The only one of Reade's plays to survive is *Masks and Faces*. Originally known as *Peg Woffington*, it was first produced at the Haymarket on November 20, 1852. Later, under its revised title, it became one of the most frequently produced plays of the nineteenth century.

Reade wrote *Masks and Faces* in collaboration with Tom Taylor. Shortly after its première, G. H. Lewes wrote in the *Leader* that the play has about it "the elements of eternal success."¹ Though such enthusiasm was time-connected and in later years gave way to a more objective attitude,² *Masks and Faces* has, nevertheless, continued to enjoy a spasmodic existence. In 1930, it was successfully produced by the Everyman Theatre in London; and, as recently as 1935, British and Dominion Pictures considered making a cinematographic version of the play for Miss Anna Naegle and Sir Cedric Hardwicke.³

Masks and Faces was indeed a famous play in the second half of the nineteenth century, not so much because of its intrinsic merits as because of the contemporary dearth of equally appealing drama. It is quite likely that the number of performances would have been even greater if the printed text had been readily available. Reade, however, had an unrea-

¹ Quoted by Malcom Elwin in his *Charles Reade: A Biography* (London 1931), p. 85.

² It is interesting that William Archer reversed his earlier opinion of Reade's play in *The Old Drama and the New* (Boston, 1923), p. 255: "*Masks and Faces* was very attractive in its own day, but is now seen to be hopelessly tricky and artificial." Yet in 1888 Archer held such a high opinion of the play that he called his handbook of acting, *Masks or Faces: A Study in the Psychology of Acting*.

³ *New York Times*, January 17, 1935.

sonable fear of plagiarism⁴ and printed many of his works privately "for protection."⁵

In both England and America, the run of *Masks and Faces* made theatrical history. In England, it established the reputation of a great actress, Mrs. Stirling; helped to make Ellen Terry famous;⁶ and for years was the most popular play in the repertoire of Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft, the Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne of their day. In America, too, the number of its performances was astonishingly great. T. Alliston Brown's *History of the New York Stage* shows that there was scarcely a year between 1856 and the end of the century which did not include a revival of the play, and that in frequency of performance it was a close rival of *She Stoops to Conquer* and *The School for Scandal*. One would assume that a drama with such a remarkable record of performances would naturally invite considerable critical interest. Yet, strangely enough, except for scattered references, there has been no significant evaluation of *Masks and Faces*. To trace its development from the initial idea, through various revisions, to final completion and to give, at the same time, significant details in connection with several of its productions are the purposes of this paper.

In the beginning of her friendship with Charles Reade, Mrs. Stirling submitted one of his manuscripts⁷ to Tom Taylor for appraisal. John Coleman, Reade's unreliable biographer, tells us that, though Taylor

⁴ Reade himself was not above taking ideas from other authors. He was once accused of plagiarizing the story of Charles Reybaud's *Mademoiselle de Malpierre* in his own story *The Picture*. His notebooks also contain numerous memoranda such as: "Plagiarize from Ephemerale TIMES in particular. . . . Concise a drama by Dumas in six acts, - 3 admirable 3 bosh. Cut away the three bosh, and invent or steal three quite different." Charles Reade, quoted in Emerson Grant Sutcliffe, "Charles Reade's Notebooks," *Studies in Philology*, XXVII (1930), 79, 103. Such entries show an attitude which must have made Reade keenly aware of similar practices on the part of fellow writers and hence caused him to be overly cautious with his own publications.

⁵ Among Reade's papers appear such items as the following:

"Receipts for two brilliant works.....	£60
spent in protecting them from fraudulent appropriation.....	£220
punishment for producing <i>Christie Johnstone</i> and <i>Peg Woffington</i>	£160"

Quoted from Charles L. Reade and Compton Reade, *Memoir of Charles Reade* (New York, 1887), p. 226. Hereafter referred to as the *Memoir*.

⁶ Ellen Terry's son, Edward Gordon Craig, felt, however, that it was his mother who made the play a success. In *Ellen Terry and Her Secret Self* (New York, 1932), p. 36, he writes: "I really do not understand why, after all these years, I should dislike the thought of Charles Reade so much. It is not the man that I am furious with, it is the dramatist; not a very great dramatist and far too easily convinced of the efficacy of his work—this odd chap looking out for a good actress to play parts in his plays, and thus make them successful."

⁷ The manuscript of Reade's play *Christie Johnstone*.

rejected the manuscript, the incident served to introduce Reade to Taylor. At this time, Taylor was already a well-known figure in the theatrical world. As the author of several successful plays,⁸ he was naturally on excellent terms with numerous London managers. Together he and Mrs. Stirling introduced Reade to influential people in the theater and were responsible, in no small way, for starting him on his career as a playwright.

Like Reade, Taylor enjoyed certain academic distinctions. At the time of their meeting, he was a fellow of Trinity College. In previous years, he had occupied the chair of English literature at University College and had served as dramatic critic for the *Times*. Yet, in spite of these academic and literary activities, he kept in close touch with the stage. "He loved to act, his favorite part being the 'Adam' in *As You Like It*."⁹ When he and Reade agreed to collaborate, Taylor, of course, became the senior partner,¹⁰ although it is now generally accepted that Reade was the more talented of the two. As a matter of fact, Archer called Taylor "an industrious playwright without a spark of inspiration," and considered the best of his works comparable to "bad plays of Scribe—a sort of caricature of Scribe's style."¹¹ Although scarcely of the caliber of his famous French contemporary, Taylor was a prolific writer. As his good friend Ellen Terry states: "He wrote perhaps too much and I think that his heart was too strong for his brain. He was far too simple and loveable a person to be great."¹² One may raise the question as to whether or not the great demand for plays was not the major cause of the mediocrity of both Reade and Taylor. "If [they] had not written—as an old French gibe has it—'à la douzaine'—if for every book of theirs that we have we had a tenth of a book, would they not have been nearer the greatest masters of art?"¹³ Be that as it may, the market was favorable at that time for the products of the Reade-Taylor collaboration, and the prognosis for their success was encouraging indeed.

⁸ Taylor's best-known play is perhaps *Our American Cousin*, which Abraham Lincoln was attending on the night he was shot by John Wilkes Booth.

⁹ Ellen Terry, *The Story of My Life*, 2d ed. (London, 1908), p. 116.

¹⁰ *Masks and Faces* was originally billed as a comedy by Tom Taylor and Charles Reade.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 255.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹³ George Saintsbury, "The Later Nineteenth Century," *Periods of European Literature*, ed. Saintsbury, XIX (New York, 1907), p. 117.

Collaborations in dramatic writing were then the order of the day.¹⁴ It seems strange, however, to think of Reade as a partner in a working arrangement for which self-control, delicacy, and patience are prerequisites, none of which Reade possessed. As a matter of fact, "he was extremely quarrelsome, pushing his quarrelsomeness to the fatally extravagant point of indulging in lawsuits."¹⁵ He frequently had violent outbursts of temper without apparent provocation: "He flamed at us with such violence that it was almost impossible to identify him with the kind, old gentleman of the Colonel Newcome type whom I had seen stand up at the Tom Taylor's, on Sunday evenings, and sing 'The Girl I Left Behind Me' with such pathos that he himself was moved to tears."¹⁶ This seems to indicate that Reade somewhat curbed his temper in the dignified atmosphere of Lavender Sweep (Taylor's home), where part of *Masks and Faces* was written.

Although there is no question that the original idea of the play was Reade's, not Taylor's, it is difficult to determine their respective contributions. Reade may have been inspired by the Hogarth portrait of Margaret Woffington which hung in the Garrick Club. Certainly he must have been familiar with the various accounts of her life. Realizing, perhaps, that the time was opportune for its dramatization (the vindication of the histrionic profession was a currently popular theme), he drew up a preliminary plan which he submitted to Taylor: "I wrote a certain scene in which Triplet, whose broad outlines I then and there drew, figured; and another personation scene, containing Peg Woffington, Colley Cibber, James Quin. I showed these to Taylor as scenes. He liked the two characters, and we agreed to write a comedy."¹⁷ This plan for collaboration on *Masks and Faces* was arrived at during the summer of 1851, and at that time Reade wrote continuously on the first act and on part of the second and third.¹⁸ The play then lay idle until the beginning of 1853, when Taylor went to work on it. He finished the first version in the early spring of the same year, read it to Mrs. Stirling, who did not like it at all, and then became so discouraged that he stopped

¹⁴ It was not unusual for more than two authors to collaborate on one play. One contemporary one-act play is said to have been the work of as many as twenty-four dramatists. See Brander Matthews, *The Historical Novel* (New York, 1901), p. 86.

¹⁵ Saintsbury, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁶ Ellen Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁷ *Memoir*, p. 188.

¹⁸ *Masks and Faces* originally comprised three acts, but was produced as a two-act play until the Bancrofts reverted to the original form.

working on the manuscript and returned it to Reade. Reade, in turn, applied himself to the play with renewed vigor:

Then he wrote to me, and I took the bull by the horns. Flung Act I. into the fire, and wrote a new Act, dashing at once into the main story I took the cold-storage creation, Pomander, and put alcohol into him, and, on the plan of the great French dramatists, I made the plot work by a constant battle between a man and a woman I then took in hand Act II., and slashed through Taylor's verbosity, losing none of his beauties, and he has some pretty things in that act. Then I came to Act III., where I found my own picture-scene wanted little alteration. Then, with the help of a speech or two of Mabel's, sweet as honey (Taylor's), I softened Woffington so that she cried in the frame and Mabel found her out.¹⁹

After he had completed these changes Reade again returned the manuscript to his partner:

Taylor did not like the fence rail prepared for him, and he said—you reconcile the two women, and I'll go on. Well, I did so, and I was not sorry to stop, for I was working in a high key, and did not see my way to sustain it through a mist of stagey manoeuvres that I saw ahead. However, while at Paris, I did actually finish the play on thin paper and sent it to my *collaborateur*.²⁰

Taylor, however, was not satisfied with the revision; he particularly objected to the new version of the denouement. After rewriting it himself, he read it to Benjamin Webster, who did not believe that it would be effective on the stage and therefore made some profitable suggestions. Taylor again went to work. He revised the ending of the play, cut it down from three acts to two, and submitted it to the Haymarket Company for appraisal.

Of Taylor's neglect to secure his last-minute approval of the new revision, Reade said: "It hurt my *amour-propre*, and a nobler feeling of creative paternity."²¹ This was the first overt expression of the pent-up tension and hostility that had been accumulating during the long months of seemingly unending revisions of the manuscript on the part of the two men. Whereas in the beginning of their collaboration Reade had been cheerfully amenable to Taylor's criticism, he later found it increasingly difficult to accept the many deletions of his partner. He felt, and probably with justification, that the major portion of *Masks and Faces* was his own.²² But because the play was subjected to so many

¹⁹ *Memoir*, p. 189.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Coleman mentions Reade's anger at "the barbarous treatment [that Taylor] accorded to my play (for it was mine!)," *op. cit.*, p. 93.

revisions, there is no definite proof for Reade's assertion. The consensus, however, is in his favor, and for that reason evaluations of *Masks and Faces* in the past have dealt with Reade as the author.²³

Arnold Taylor, in an attempt to establish his brother's share in the play, felt compelled to write to the Reverend Compton Reade thirty-one years after its première:

Very much to Charles Reade's vexation, and contrary to all his ideas and wishes, the play was cut down by my brother to two acts, and worked by him into the shape in which it was finally acted at the Haymarket

I have abundant proof in letters of Charles Reade, written to my brother in 1852, how much this change went against the grain with him. He even objects to certain minor characters, and the names they bear. Further, these letters contain repeated evidence that Charles Reade then fully recognized the difference between himself, an unknown author, and a successful dramatist, like my brother.

The latter, however, was never slow to do the fullest justice to a fellow workman. And, often as I have heard him mention the one character and one part of the scene alluded to, I always heard him add 'But the beginning of the second act. . . the best, I think, in the whole play—was entirely Charles Reade's'²⁴

Coleman, who too frequently neglects to give the source of his information, states that Taylor himself had this to say about his share in *Masks and Faces*: "To be precise as to our relations to this play he [Reade] invented the idea, suggested nearly all the characters, and most of the incidents, but he put them together higgledy-piggledy. They stood on their heads, and I put them on their heels."²⁵ On the other hand, Reade was slow in giving credit where credit was due, forgetting that a literary partnership is a joint activity, irrespective of the quality and quantity of work invested by each partner. Apropos of his failure to recognize this fact, Ellen Terry writes:

I remember saying to Taylor one night at dinner when Reade was sitting opposite me, that I wished he (Taylor) would write me a part like that. "If only I could have an original part like Peg!" Charles Reade, after fixing me with his amused and very glittering eye, said across the table. "I have something for your private ear, madam, after this repast!" And he came up *with* the ladies, sat by me, and calling me "an artful toad"—a favorite expression of his for me!—told me that *he*, Charles Reade and no other, had written every line of Peg, and that I ought to have known it. I *didn't* know, as a matter of fact, but perhaps that was stupid of me.²⁶

Arnold Taylor accused Reade of similar unethical practices. Shortly

²³ In this study Charles Reade is also the predominant concern.

²⁴ *Memoir*, p. 191.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 121-22.

after the success of *Masks and Faces*, Reade, he says, took advantage of its popularity by writing the novel *Peg Woffington* without even informing Tom Taylor of the adaptation: "My brother having remonstrated with Charles Reade on the line he had taken, the latter then prefixed to the novel the dedication, dated December 15th, 1852: 'To Tom Taylor, my friend and coadjutor in the comedy of *Masks and Faces*, to whom the reader owes much of the better matter in this tale.'" ²⁷

Later critics have also expressed disapproval of Reade's exploitation of joint literary property:

Charles Reade and Tom Taylor joined forces in the composition of the long-popular *Masks and Faces* and after it had established itself upon the stage, Charles Reade took its plot and its characters and utilized them in his charming novel *Peg Woffington*; and as he had taken the liberty of making a private profit out of the profit of the partnership, it is not to be wondered at that Tom Taylor was distinctly displeased. But Charles Reade, although he collaborated with Tom Taylor, with Paul Merrit and with Dion Boucicault, was more or less deficient in the courtesy and consideration that a man ought to possess to fit him for partnership ²⁸

There is no question that this difficulty strained relations between Reade and Taylor, so much so that it was not until April, 1854, that they again collaborated on a play. Meanwhile, Reade had produced *Gold*, about which Arnold Taylor writes: "It is only necessary to recall that immature production to be convinced that the hand that wrote it was incapable of the terse, sparkling and polished finish of *Masks and Faces*." ²⁹

On the occasion of the première of *Masks and Faces*, however, Reade's delight over its success made him forget all about the difficulties he had had with his partner: "I forgot all the alterations and the rows and tramped around in a transport of delight, embraced my faithless Peggy in the sight of all Israel, hugged Taylor and Webster and then, for the first time in my life, was called for, and Taylor led me before the curtain, and the house rose to us and I cried for joy." ³⁰

Shortly after the first performance, contemporary reviewers began to speculate as to whether or not there was an ulterior motive behind the theme of the play. Although Reade and Taylor had not so indicated,

²⁷ *Memoir*, p. 192.

²⁸ Brander Matthews, *A Book about the Theatre* (New York, 1916), p. 89.

²⁹ *Memoir*, p. 192.

³⁰ Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

some critics felt that the purpose of *Masks and Faces* is "the vindication of the histrionic profession in the eyes of general society."³¹ This society, though it had heartily approved of the real Margaret Woffington on the stage, would have been extremely reluctant to accept her on an equal footing in their homes. The stigma of the acting profession was keenly felt and left its mark not only on the actor but on his family as well. For example, when Margaret Woffington's sister was married to the Honorable Robert Cholmondeley in 1746, his uncle, Sir Robert Walpole, wrote to a friend: "I have been unfortunate in my own family. My nephew, Captain Cholmondeley, has married a player's sister."³² Discrimination of this kind lasted well into the nineteenth century, for as late as 1865 George Vandenhoff felt it necessary to plead the cause of the acting profession: "As for the idea that there is anything degrading in the practice of the actor's art, in itself, that I imagine, is a worn-out prejudice. Can it degrade the mind to devote one's powers to the vocal interpretation of the outpourings of a great poet's heart and brains?"³³

In Paris at this time playwrights were also preoccupied with the theme of actors as human beings. The Comédie Française had just brought out a play entitled *Sullivan* (later adapted by Tom Robertson under the title of *David Garrick*), featuring as hero an actor of nobility of heart and greatness of mind. In the same season the Variétés presented Lemaitre in an impersonation of Taconet, who was a most admirable member of the acting profession. According to Allardyce Nicoll, "the motive behind the alteration of opinion is to be traced to Queen Victoria. . . . By summoning Charles Kean to perform at the Court, she revived a tradition of the seventeenth century. Seeing the Queen thus patronize players, society soon followed suit."³⁴ It is interesting that Henry Irving was the first actor to be knighted at the English Court, a fact that is "significant for the long pull of the stage against Puritanic prejudice,"³⁵ and the rise in standing in society that the acting profession experienced.

It is quite likely that the popular apotheosis of actors was the inspira-

³¹ London Times, November 22, 1852.

³² Dr. Doran, F.S.A., *Annals of the English Stage* (Philadelphia, 1890), p. 8.

³³ George Vandenhoff, *An Actor's Notebook; or The Green Room and the Stage* (London, 1865), p. 304.

³⁴ *The English Theatre* (New York, 1936), p. 169.

³⁵ Sheldon Cheney, *The Theatre: Three Thousand Years of Drama, Acting and Stagecraft* (New York, 1935), p. 446.

tion for *Masks and Faces*. Although nearly a hundred years had passed since Margaret Woffington had been Garrick's leading lady, the remembrance of her was still fresh enough to serve as a kind of histrionic glorification of England. Reade, of course, was generous in his characterization of her, which was only natural, inasmuch as from all accounts she must have been a woman of great charm:

Mrs. Woffington is a downright cheat, a triumphant plagiarist. She first steals your heart, and then laughs at you as secure of your applause. There is such a prepossession arising from her form; such a witchcraft in her beauty, and to those who are personally acquainted with her, such an absolute command, from the sweetness of her disposition, that it is almost impossible to criticise upon her.³⁶

The other characters in *Masks and Faces* do not fare so well under Reade's treatment. Kitty Clive, for example, although in reality as important in her day as Margaret Woffington, is allotted only a minor role in the play.³⁷ The unequal importance of the two characters, however, can be construed as a merit rather than a defect, for it is the composite rather than the individual portrait of an actress and the disregard of historical detail that give the play an element of universality. Thus Peg is not so much the real Margaret Woffington as she is the prototype of any actress of personality and warmth.

Peg's sentiment as portrayed by Reade seems artificial to us to-day, particularly at the end of *Masks and Faces*, where she turns to the audience and addresses them in rimed couplets:

Yes; sure those kind eyes and bright smiles one traces
Are not deceptive *masks*—but honest *faces*
I'd swear it—but if your hands make it certain,
Then all is right on both sides of the curtain.³⁸

One question Reade and Taylor's use of a type of epilogue about which Dutton Cook wrote in 1876: "Epilogues went out of fashion with pigtailed—the public having at last decided that neither of these appendages was really necessary nor particularly ornamental."³⁹ The explana-

³⁶ Dr. Doran, *op. cit.*, II, 13-14.

³⁷ Concerning the characterization of Colley Cibber, Elwin says: "A more or less probable portrait of his old age is painted by Charles Reade in his tale of *Peg Woffington*, but it is difficult to believe that the old fop there described is the same person as the young spark who impressed with his impudence both Southerne and Dryden." See Malcolm Elwin, *The Playgoer's Handbook to Restoration Drama* (New York, 1928), p. 199.

³⁸ See the Epilogue of *Masks and Faces*, *Spencer's Boston Theatre*, ed. William V. Spencer (Boston, 1876), III.

³⁹ Dutton Cook, *A Book of the Play* (London, 1876), p. 314.

tion may be found in Reade's habit of talking down to his public. He could never let a book or a play speak for itself but felt the need to inject himself into it. In *The Cloister and the Hearth* he admonishes his readers to "put the story to a wholesome use." The epilogue of *Masks and Faces* seems to have sprung from a similar compulsion. The Bancrofts changed the ending to a scene in which Peg weeps on Triplet's shoulder—in order to do away with the "ti-tum-ti stuff," as Coleman calls it.⁴⁰ He adds that the Bancrofts "deliberately preferred to relinquish rounds and rounds of applause," a statement from which one can deduce that the original rimed epilogue must have been quite effective after all.

As for the general effectiveness of *Masks and Faces*, it offered in its variety alone a number of things pleasing to the eye and ear. The synthesis of music, picture-groupings, and dancing appealed to audiences, which were charmed by its "scenic display." In their new and striking manner, the use of the various devices showed the adventurous spirit that permeated the theaters of the 1850's. Of this decade Nicoll says: "Tragedy was given correctness of atmosphere, [and] comedy hastened to join its sister muse"⁴¹ Reade was an enthusiastic leader of this movement. In *Masks and Faces* he strove for absolute historical accuracy. His later insistence upon realism was often a subject for ridicule among his friends:

He was a rare one for realism. He had preached it in all his plays, and when he produced a one-act play, *Rachel the Reaper*, in front of *The Wandering Heir*, he began to practice what he preached—jumped into realism up to his neck. . . . He began by buying REAL pigs, REAL sheep, a REAL goat and a REAL dog. REAL litter was strewn all over the stage, much to the inconvenience of the unreal farm labourers. . . . On the first night the REAL dog bit Kelly's ankle, and in REAL anger he kicked the REAL animal by a REAL mistake into the orchestra's REAL drum. So much for the realism as practiced by Charles Reade!⁴²

Reade obviously never understood the meaning of "plausibility in staging," as Archer calls it: "The stage is the realm of appearances, not of realities, where paste jewels are at least as effective as real ones, and a painted forest is far more sylvan than a few wilting and drooping saplings, insecurely planted upon the boards."⁴³

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁴² Ellen Terry, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.

⁴³ William Archer, *Play-Making: A Manual of Craftsmanship* (Boston, 1912), p. 275.

In *Masks and Faces* Reade's enthusiasm for realism led him to give the most elaborate descriptions of the costuming of each character:

Colley Cibber - Light brown square coat and breeches; rose colored vest, white silk stockings drawn over the knees; black shoes, with high red heels, diamond buckles, small three-cornered hat, fringed with feathers; white powdered bag wig; ruffles, and dress steel sword (a mild edition of his own Lord Foppington). Sallow face, described as of wash leather⁴⁴

Indeed, in his search for realism, Reade went so far as to secure permission from the Garrick Club to have copies made of some of the eighteenth century pictures in its famous collection. He adorned the walls of the set in the first act (the Green Room of the Old Covent Garden Theatre) with reproductions of Grisson's portrait of Colley Cibber as Lord Foppington, Garrick as Richard III, Mrs. Pritchard as Lady Macbeth, etc.⁴⁵ The Bancrofts state that the tapestry chamber in the second act was "one of the most real pictures of those times ever shown in the theater."⁴⁶

The importance of these *petits détails*, ludicrous as they appear, must not be minimized. As Allardyce Nicoll says: "Even although we may recognize that realism cannot lead to high artistry, we may welcome this movement toward a naturalistic stage after the long-enduring excesses of the romantic generations and the chill rhetoric of the literary drama."⁴⁷

This movement toward realism was greatly stimulated by the changes following the Theater Regulation Act of 1843, which permitted an unlimited number of playhouses to be erected under certain restrictions regarding censorship and building requirements. These playhouses catered to a new type of audience, too unrestrained to find literary drama or romantic presentation particularly appealing. This fact, coinciding with the lack of other available drama of popular appeal, increased the size of the audience of *Masks and Faces* considerably. No doubt this combination of circumstances accounts for the popularity of the musical interludes of the play. The minuet introduced into the supper scene and the lively little jig in Triplet's chamber were "notable features of the performance."⁴⁸ Judging from their frequent mention in contemporary reviews, they were much enjoyed by audiences. Mrs. Ban-

⁴⁴ See "Costume," appendix to *Masks and Faces*, ed. Spencer, p. 59

⁴⁵ Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*

⁴⁷ *British Drama*, 3d. ed. (London, 1932), p. 330.

⁴⁸ *London Times*, December 6, 1888.

croft tells us that the play's theme-song, "The Woffington Gavotte," was played all over London, and that for months it was inevitably included in all musical selections.

So much for the outward trappings of *Masks and Faces*. As a play it has its merits and defects. The probable reason for its constructional weakness lies in the hodgepodge method of its composition.⁴⁹ In fact, it is surprising that the play still retains a certain measure of continuity and sweep. Some of the dialogue, particularly in the second act, is reminiscent of the wit of Restoration drama. Hard and brittle, it has about it what T. S. Eliot calls a "tough reasonableness." Peg's remark when the dejected poetaster plods across the stage, "He looks like the fifth act of a domestic tragedy,"⁵⁰ is a fairly representative example. Reade uses wit as a deliberate device rather than as a natural consequence growing out of character or situation. For instance, he conveys the strong impression that Pomander braces himself in order to inform the audience that he is about to give a very clever definition of the Green Room:

The Green Room, my dear madam, is the bower where fairies put off their wings and goddesses become dowdies—where Lady Macbeth weeps over her lap dog's indigestion, and Belvidera groans over the amount of her last month's millinery bill. In one word—the Green Room is the place where actors and actresses become mere men and women, and the name is no doubt derived from the general character of its unprofessional visitors.⁵¹

This is not so much humor as it is the type of intellectual wit undoubtedly heard in the scintillating conversation and quick repartee of Victorian drawing rooms.

Masks and Faces is hero-less. If any character even remotely attains the distinction of hero, it is Triplet. He is the needy portrait painter, whom Peg saves from starvation. Not a few contemporary reviewers gave this role considerable notice in their columns, particularly when Benjamin Webster played the part at the Haymarket in 1852, and at the Adelphi in 1853:

The study of Triplet in the actor's hands might be taken as a type of the penurious artist of the time. The distinction amidst the sordid cares of life, the nervous impatience, soon atoned for by contrition, the moods of gloomy reverie,

⁴⁹ Besides his endless correspondence with Tom Taylor concerning the composition of *Masks and Faces*, Reade was also busy at this time with the writing of two other plays, *Gold* and *Christie Johnstone*. The resultant confusion has left its mark on *Masks and Faces*.

⁵⁰ *Masks and Faces*, Act I, scene i.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, scene ii.

at times half pierced by the hope of a nature originally sanguine, but which time and suffering had tamed and daunted; the desperation with which, when unable to please himself with Peg's likeness, he plunged his knife through the canvas, together with an artlessness of look and voice, which spoke an unwordly mind—all these degrees of the better mental worker were so truly indicated, that a glance, a change of tone, however delicate, a stoop, a step backward or forward, or a fluttering movement of the hand, were more significant even than the excellent dialogue in which he took a part. And withal this Triplet was a gentleman; no poverty of garb or surroundings could hide that; while the perfect unconsciousness with which this inner refinement showed itself, was a touch of art so true and unpretending, that it was seen only in its effects.⁵²

Nevertheless, it is really Peg who dominates the play. When she appears the tempo quickens, whereas the scenes without her lag. This might be both because she is the center of the play and because Reade alone wrote her role, as he himself has intimated.

The other characters are types rather than individuals. The critics Snarl and Soaper (their names speak for themselves) are obvious caricatures of their profession. Even Colley Cibber seems not so much Colley Cibber as the epitome of all Lord Foppingtons.

Reade has been criticized for painting "fresco-like, flat characters,"⁵³ lacking in mystery, inwardness, and dimension. They usually behave according to preconceived notions, suitable for a type rather than for an unpredictable, real person. Yet, despite this "typing," the dramatic personae of *Masks and Faces* remain vital enough to be convincing. Contemporary critics often held quite different impressions of one and the same character—so much so that the personality in the light of their reviews takes on spontaneous contradiction rather than stereotyped uniformity.⁵⁴

Reade has employed stereotyping rather successfully in what Allardyce Nicoll calls "automatism in the use of words." Colley Cibber's particular *mot de caractère*, in imitation of Lord Foppington, is "stap my vitals," which he utters with mechanical repetition.⁵⁵ Reade favored

⁵² Westland Marston, *Our Recent Actors* (Boston, 1888), I, 246-47.

⁵³ *Invitation to Learning* radio program, discussing *The Cloister and the Hearth*, April 14, 1946.

⁵⁴ Dutton Cook describes Triplet as "the wretched hack," whereas the same character is to Westland Marston "a gentleman of inner refinement." This is a contradiction which even the most diverse interpretation could not have accomplished, had the role been cast in too rigid a pattern.

⁵⁵ Emerson Grant Sutcliffe in his article, "The Stage in Reade's Novels," *Studies in Philology*, XXVII (1930), 660, writes: "The repetitive catchwords with which the dramatist labels his character parts are infrequent in Reade." He then continues to list a series of examples of various automatisms. Obviously *infrequent* should read *frequent*.

the use of such odd phraseologies and vernaculars. Peg herself occasionally falls into a broad Irish brogue intermingled with Celtic idioms: Get along with your blarney then, Mr. Triplet, an is it the comether ye'd be puttin' on poor little Peggy.⁵⁶

Critics have pointed out that it is difficult for an American to judge on the accuracy with which some of these expressions are used. But one is skeptical of Reade's Irish because "it seems the Irish of the Vaudeville comedian and not either that of Synge or of Irish-American acquaintances."⁵⁷ The use of dialect in Reade's plays, however, was usually the result of long and painstaking research. His notebooks contain lengthy entries on his studies of various phraseologies and indicate extensive reading on that score. Yet, with his almost pedantic effort toward literary accuracy, Reade defeated his own purpose. According to Archer, "niceties of language are often unjustly criticized. If a particular expression does not happen to be current in the critic's own circle, he concludes that nobody uses it, and the author is a pedant or a vulgarian."⁵⁸ Reade often provoked such attacks by introducing strange, unknown idioms into the dialogue.⁵⁹

An even more conspicuous lack of plausibility is the impression derived from certain situations that Reade puts on the stage, the most flagrant example in *Masks and Faces* being the picture scene of the second act. The idea of Peg inserting her face into the gap of Triplet's portrait seems absurd in the mere reading of the play, but on the stage, with proper lighting effects and with a talented actress in the leading role, it may have been convincing. At least the critics did not object to it. On the contrary, in his chapter "Sunt Lacrymae Rerum" in *Masks or Faces*, Archer not only approves of its use but gives Reade's own justification for it: "Mrs. Woffington has great sensibility; and she has, more than most players of either sex, given a loose to nature in the expressing of it; to this she owed the greater part of her fame as an actress; and in this she always excelled, when her private passion did not interfere."⁶⁰ These statements seem, in a way, to contradict Archer's own theory of craftsmanship: "An improbable or otherwise unacceptable incident cannot be validly defended on the plea that it actually

⁵⁶ *Masks and Faces*, I, i.

⁵⁷ Sutcliffe, *ibid.*, p. 659.

⁵⁸ William Archer, *Play-Making*, p. 278.

⁵⁹ Sutcliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 660.

⁶⁰ Chap II.

happened,"⁶¹ or may have happened, because not "truth but verisimilitude" is the aim of the stage. This apparent contradiction may be explained by the fact that Archer wrote his early reviews after seeing a performance of *Masks and Faces*. Apparently the actual staging detracted from the artificiality of the devices used. Furthermore, Reade succeeded in securing performers who were accomplished enough to make almost any scene convincing.

Among these noted performers were Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft, who made their first appearance in *Masks and Faces* at the Prince of Wales Theatre on November 6, 1875. With the Bancrofts as Peg and Triplet and Ellen Terry as Mabel Vane, the play could not possibly fail, despite the stagey maneuvers. From 1875 until their retirement ten years later, *Masks and Faces* continued to be one of the most popular plays in the Bancrofts' repertoire. They had prevailed upon Reade (who by then was sole owner of the play) to sanction certain changes which they wished to make in the text.⁶²

It is difficult to discern in detail just how the Bancroft version differs from the original manuscript, as there are a number of conflicting statements concerning the alterations. We know only that for a period of some twenty years *Masks and Faces* had been offered as a two-act play and that the Bancrofts changed it to three acts. Reade and Taylor both state that the first draft of the play had also run to three acts and that the Bancrofts instinctively reverted to the original form. There seems to be no question, however, that the change constituted a general improvement, for with deft hand "the Bancrofts strove to eliminate the grotesque and stress the natural."⁶³ (They had completely discarded the stagey epilogue.) Reade immediately agreed to some of the changes the Bancrofts proposed, including their reshaping of the play into three acts instead of two. He even suggested that Taylor should be asked to rewrite the dialogue, and the Bancrofts paid him £50 for the task. Though it seems strange that the actors themselves should pay for the revision, we must remember that the Bancrofts were then the managers of the Prince of Wales Theatre and therefore had a financial stake in the production. Some of the changes they suggested, Reade was reluctant to accept. Apparently there were heated arguments before the Bancrofts could write: "After many a tough fight, we won the day and

⁶¹ *Play-Making*, p. 275

⁶² It was the Bancroft revision that William Archer had seen and criticized.

⁶³ Allardyce Nicoll, *The English Theatre*, p. 175

gained our wish, having afterwards the satisfaction of Reade's approval of every change; and when the play reverted to him, he discarded the old book forever, and ordered replicas of our prompt copy for his future use." ⁶⁴

Ellen Terry as Mabel Vane and Mr. Coghlan as Sir Charles Pomaner supported the Bancrofts in the revised version. This was a combination of such superior acting talent that the Bancrofts could say of the performance: "Success of the highest kind rewarded our work, and it has throughout been our impression that *Masks and Faces* has, in all ways, been one of our truest friends." ⁶⁵ The expression "our work" in this connection is not without its significance. The Bancrofts, after all, not only had given their best talents to the play but also had invested considerable time, thought, and money in its revision. Hence their feeling that they, and they alone, were responsible for "our work" led to friction between Lady Bancroft and the up-and-coming star Ellen Terry. Ellen Terry states in her biography that "the audience used to applaud me in a manner more vigorous than judicious," giving Lady Bancroft the feeling "that I had hired a claque to clap me!" She goes on to say that "now it seems funny, but at that time I was deeply hurt at the insinuation, and it cast a shadow over what otherwise would have been a very happy time." ⁶⁶ Ellen Terry hastens to assure the reader, however, that she does not intend to minimize the excellence of Lady Bancroft in the role of Peg Woffington: "I don't say for a minute that Mrs. Bancroft's Peg Woffington in *Masks and Faces* was not appreciated and applauded, but I know that my Mabel Vane was received with a warmth out of all proportion to the merits of my performance, and that this angered some of Mrs. Bancroft's admirers, and made them the bearers of ill-natured stories." ⁶⁷

Reade himself credited the Bancrofts with the major share in the success of the play. After the first performance he sent Lady Bancroft an autograph letter of the actress Margaret Woffington with the following note: "Presented by Charles Reade to his friend Mrs. Bancroft upon her admirable personation of Peg Woffington in *Masks and Faces*. C. R. November 6, 1875." ⁶⁸ At the same time, Reade wrote a thirteen-

⁶⁴ Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

page letter of criticism to the producer, in which he "praised generously the performances of the Bancrofts, of Charles Coghlan and Ellen Terry as Mabel Vane, but furiously rended the acting of a minor male performer." ⁶⁹ That he had some insight into his own unreasonable manner of behavior is evident at the close of the same letter: "You will wonder at this tirade, but the fact is, my winter cough has come on. I shall most likely not be out at nights for three months, and may never again have the pleasure of seeing your performance and Mrs. Bancroft's, so I say my say and exhaust the subject." ⁷⁰

On July 20, 1885, the Bancrofts took their farewell of the stage in *Masks and Faces*—a great honor for Reade. The audience included the Prince and Princess of Wales, Robert Browning, and many other prominent personages of the time. At the conclusion of the play, Sir Henry Irving read a valedictory ode written by Clement Scott, of which the third stanza pertained to *Masks and Faces*:

No age or sickness saddens this adieu.
No piteous case I plead, no alms I beg;
My toast is 'Triplet, here's long life to you,
And years more laughter to delightful Peg.' ⁷¹

After the Bancrofts' retirement, there were still a few more years left for Peg and Triplet, particularly in America, where many a well-known actor and actress appeared in these roles. Yet, toward the turn of the century, it became increasingly clear that *Masks and Faces* had reached its culmination. Apparently, the play "had lived into an age when subtlety of drawing, reserve of tone, a studied rarity of language and the philosophic background [were valued in a play], and they were not Reade's virtues." ⁷² For that matter, they had not been the virtues of Reade's contemporaries. Between 1830 and 1890 some twenty-four hundred plays were produced in London theaters, but those that have found their way into histories of dramatic literature can be counted almost on one hand. The period was one of such utter mediocrity that Matthew Arnold could write in 1879: "England has no modern drama at all," ⁷³ and Lewes, too, expressed the opinion that "our drama is ex-

⁶⁹ Malcolm Elwin, *Charles Reade: A Biography*, p. 286.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Clement Scott, *The Drama of Yesterday and Today* (London, 1899), I, 596.

⁷² Oliver Elton, *A Survey of English Literature: 1830-1880* (London, 1920), II, 225.

⁷³ Brander Matthew's Introduction to Matthew Arnold's *Letters of an Old Playgoer* (New York, 1919), p. 16.

tinged as literature and our stage is in a deplorable condition of decline.”⁷⁴ These circumstances combined to work both for and against *Masks and Faces*. Certainly the absence of competition gave it a firm hold on the theaters and audiences of the time. William Archer maintained that after Robertson’s death the English drama was left without any talent whatsoever. “The Prince of Wales Theatre ceased to be the home of a new literature. The management fell back upon revivals such as *Masks and Faces*.”⁷⁵

As has been pointed out earlier, the lack of other equally successful drama explains in part the mediocrity of Reade’s work. The market wanted bulk, a demand incompatible with excellence. It allowed neither time nor inclination to achieve “subtlety of drawing” and “studied rarity of language.” A hungry market was unwilling to wait for the preparation of intricate menus. It wanted food—any food. We must remember that Reade was not a person who could remain indifferent to such temptation. He loved and needed success. When the audience acclaimed him, he “cried for joy.” Though better as a novelist than as a dramatist, he could derive emotional gratification only from the theater, not from the silent reading public.

It was for this emotional gratification that he wrote (for he was not compelled to do so because of financial necessity):

He had a demyship in Magdalen College, Oxford, which was duly exchanged in the year of his majority (1835) for a valuable fellowship—one, too, which did not, as in most cases, carry with it the necessity of taking orders. No man of letters could have asked for more; and no man of letters, with even a rudimentary share of knowledge of how to live, could have failed to find in this lot the opportunity of shaping his life practically as he would.⁷⁶

If Reade abused this opportunity, it by no means made him lazy. He accumulated a phenomenal amount of research notes and wrote prolifically. But unfortunately “extremely rapid and extremely bulky work is not of the best—is not even good.”⁷⁷

It would be unfair to say, however, that *Masks and Faces* is a poor play. We may safely state that it is lacking in literary importance, but, on the other hand, Reade intended that it should be seen, not read. For this reason, the wording is geared to the stage rather than to the reading

⁷⁴ George Henry Lewes, *On Actors and the Art of Acting* (New York, 1875), p. 135.

⁷⁵ William Archer, *The Old Drama and the New*, p. 260.

⁷⁶ Saintsbury, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

public: "All movements of Reade's characters are of the pronounced, conspicuous, exaggerated kind, necessary to the boards."⁷⁸ The written text of his dramas is as far removed from the actual performance as a cinematographic script from the screen play. Reade felt that "the printed words of a play are about one third of the play, the tones and varying melodies of beautiful and artful speech are but another third. And the business, gesture, and that great visible story, the expression of the speaking, and the dumb play of the silent actors are another third."⁷⁹

Just how keenly Reade felt the inadequacy of print is further expressed in the novel *Peg Woffington*, his adaptation of *Masks and Faces*:

I am ashamed of . . . the human craft of writing, which, though commoner far, is so miserably behind the godlike art of speech: *Si ipsam audivisses!* These ink scratches, which in the imperfection of language we have called words, till the unthinking actually dream they are words, but which are the shadows of corpses of words; these word-shadows then were living powers on [Peg's] lips"⁸⁰

Reade himself was incapable of visualizing the merits of a scene by the mere reading of it. He was, for example, opposed to the new finale of the Bancroft revision of *Masks and Faces* until the Bancrofts "conquered him at last by ACTING to him what [they] wished to do." Then, and only then, was he able to concede the improvement.

Acting was to Reade the only adequate medium for expressing emotion. "Avowedly he had no use for description for mere description's sake."⁸¹ He would alter a script without considering what the changes might do to its literary merits. Often "he added speeches and lines, having no pretense in a literary sense, but of great value in the acting."⁸² His "rewriting" of a play consisted of sitting in a box in the theater and sending notes of criticism to the actors and actresses between scenes. Sometimes these notes were only brief reminders such as "vary the pace!"—"put some 'bite' in the passages!"—"consider!" Occasionally he wrote longer notes touching upon the theory of acting:

Climax is reached not only by rush but by increasing pace. Your exit speech is a failure at present, because you do not vary the pace of its delivery. Get by yourself for half an hour, if you can! Get by the seaside, if you can, since there it was Demosthenes who studied eloquence and overcame mountains—not

⁷⁸ Sutcliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 679.

⁷⁹ Charles Reade, *Art*, quoted by Sutcliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 665.

⁸⁰ Charles Reade, *Peg Woffington* (Boston, n.d.), p. 36.

⁸¹ Sutcliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 673.

⁸² Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

molehills like this. . . . Study to speak these lines with great volubility and fire and settle the exact syllable to run at."⁸³

Once, in a humble mood, he wrote to Ellen Terry, "I do not pretend to be as good a writer of plays as you are an actress."⁸⁴ Such a reaction seems to have been sincere and in accordance with his feeling that the success and failure of a play depended not so much on the written word as on the performance of the actors. He seldom disapproved of a player's occasional deviation from the text but on the contrary appreciated clever and effective improvising.⁸⁵

In the mere reading of the text of *Masks and Faces*, we have no way of taking into account these exigencies of the theater. Such a play can be judged with fairness only in the setting for which it was devised. Perhaps it is entirely wrong to refer to it in a critical sense at all. If we should see and enjoy it, it would receive our stamp of approval. Because such an opportunity is not likely to occur, the test of its merits should be the pleasure it gave to countless audiences for half a century.

Nowadays we may safely say that *Masks and Faces* suffers from an overabundance of artificiality that has blocked for Reade a lasting place in dramatic literature. By taking the play out of its own setting, however, and placing it in the cold objectivity of the printed page, we become guilty of what Clayton Hamilton calls "the professorial fallacy of undramatic criticism."

⁸³ Ellen Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91

⁸⁵ Among Reade's friends of the theatre he particularly admired Edwin Forrest, "chiefly on account of the stalwart tragedian's ingenuity in inventing suggestive business and byplay." See E. H. House, "Anecdotes of Charles Reade," *Atlantic Monthly*, LX (1887), 534.

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE OF STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON STUDENTS

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One of the most frequent charges brought against the typical American college or university is that its students are, for the most part, either indifferent or antagonistic to religion. It is asserted that the modern college, in its emphasis on science and in its attempt to prepare young people for a materialistic world, is producing an agnostic or atheistic generation. These claims have motivated considerable research in religious attitudes on college campuses.¹

The general conclusion of this study is that college students are more orthodox than unorthodox in their religious attitudes and do have an interest in religion.

After studying several pieces of research on religious attitudes and determining what information was essential to such a study, the present investigator drew up a questionnaire in two parts. The first part consisted of questions to secure information regarding the students' church status, home and college background, and religious activities and habits; the second involved checking of seventeen groups of five-choice statements on fundamental religious concepts. This paper is limited to a portion of the findings from Part I of the questionnaire—the church membership or preference of both the students

¹ Some of these studies are:

J. Morse and J. Allen, "The Religion of 126 College Students," *Journal of Religious Psychology*, VI (1913), pp. 175-94, as reviewed by Erland Nelson, "Attitudes: II, Social Attitudes," *Journal of General Psychology*, XXI (October, 1939), p. 414.

J. H. Leuba, *The Belief in God and Immortality*, as reviewed by Erland Nelson, "Attitudes: II, Social Attitudes," *Journal of General Psychology*, XXI (October, 1939), p. 412.

Read Bain, "Religious Attitudes of College Students," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII (March, 1927), pp. 762-70.

R. H. Edwards, J. M. Artman, and G. M. Fisher, *Undergraduates*, (Garden City, N. Y., 1928), pp. 239-51.

Daniel Katz and F. H. Allport, *Students' Attitudes*, (Syracuse, N. Y., 1931), pp. 257-317.

George H. Betts, "Religious Attitudes and Activities of University Students," *Religious Education*, XXIII (November, 1928), pp. 917-19.

George J. Dudyca, "The Religious Beliefs of College Students," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XVII (October, 1933), pp. 585-603.

Charles M. Bond, "College Student Attitudes toward Some Basic Christian Values," *Religious Education*, XXXV (April, 1940), pp. 109-16.

and their parents, the religious activities of the students, and the factors which influence them.

The questionnaire was submitted to approximately seven hundred State College of Washington students in January, 1941. Care was taken that there be a proportional distribution by class, and that the sample not include an undue preponderance of majors in any one subject.

The completed questionnaires were first read and edited. A code was then constructed so that the information could be transferred to Hollerith cards for machine sorting. The replies to all questions were coded and then checked for errors of coding.

In order to test the relationship of two variables, cross-classification tables were set up. The data were then transformed into percentage figures to facilitate comparisons. The percentages for each item in every column were computed on the basis of that column total. All cross-classification tables were tested for significance by the chi-square test.

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

Do the majority of college students belong to a church? Are they less frequently members of a church than their parents are? Fifty-one per cent of the men students and 64.1 per cent of the women belong to a church, but both these percentages are smaller than the percentage of mothers who are members. The students are members more frequently, however, than are their fathers.

Relation of Class in School to Students' Church Attendance while at College. As students progress through college does their church attendance become less frequent? If there is a noticeable change in frequency of attendance, does it occur within a particular year?

Table I reports information regarding these questions. Among the men, the freshmen have a significantly greater proportion who attend every Sunday than either the sophomores or the juniors; and among the women, the proportion of freshmen who attend every Sunday or twice a month is significantly higher than for any other class. Approximately half of the junior men and women attend only on special occasions. The senior men and women, however, show a noticeable increase over the juniors in those who attend every Sunday. Apparently, after the first year in college many of the students feel frequent church attendance is not essential. This attitude continues through the junior year, but there is a slightly higher rate in church attendance

among seniors, which may be due to more thinking along religious lines or to greater maturity. The number of graduate students is too small for any generalizations, although a high proportion of them never attend.

The percentage of all students attending every Sunday is much higher for the women (27.4) than for the men (13.5), and there is a considerably higher proportion of men (25.4 per cent) who never attend church than women (6.9 per cent).

Table I
Percentage Distributions of Church Attendance by College Class
Men

Attendance	Fr	Soph.	Jr	Sr.	Grad	Total	
						No	%
Every Sunday	16 8	9 3	9 5	15 1	16 7	54	13 5
Twice a month	9 0	14 7	1 2	2 7	0 0	28	7 0
Once a month	19 4	14 6	13 1	20 5	16 7	69	17 3
Special occasions	25 8	46 7	52 4	37 0	8 3	147	36 8
Never	29 0	14 7	23 8	24 7	58 3	101	25 4
Total per cent	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0		100 0
Total cases	155	75	84	73	12	399	

2 cases of no information are omitted from this table.

The actual numbers in each column on which percentages are based are, respectively. 26, 14, 30, 40, 45; 7, 11, 11, 35, 11; 8, 1, 11, 44, 20; 11, 2, 15, 27, 18; 2, 0, 2, 1, 7

Women

Attendance	Fr	Soph	Jr.	Sr	Grad	Total	
						No.	%
Every Sunday	38 7	26 4	8 5	25 0	7 7	83	27 4
Twice a month	15 1	11 1	10 6	9 6	7 7	37	12 2
Once a month	16 8	30 6	25 5	15 4	23 1	65	21 5
Special occasions	19 3	31 9	49 0	46 2	30 8	97	32 0
Never	10 1	0 0	6 4	3 8	30 7	21	6 9
Total per cent	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0		100 0
Total cases	119	72	47	52	13	303	

1 case of no information is omitted from this table.

The actual numbers in each column on which percentages are based are, respectively. 46, 18, 20, 23, 12; 19, 8, 22, 23, 0; 4, 5, 12, 23, 3; 13, 5, 8, 24, 2; 1, 1, 3, 4, 4.

Relation of Student Church Attendance at Home to Church Attendance while at College. Do those students who attend church frequently at home continue the same practice while at college? Table II

shows a significant relationship between attendance at home and attendance while at college. But there is a noticeable breaking away as evidenced by the fact that, of the men who attended every Sunday at home, only 32.0 per cent attend every Sunday while at college, and 12.5 per cent of these never attend while at college. Yet for those who never attend at home 75 per cent never attend at school. Probably it is of more value to note that, of those men who never attend at home, 20 per cent do attend on special occasions while at college and 5 per cent attend once a month. The women who attend church frequently

Table II
Percentage Distributions of Student Church Attendance at College
by Church Attendance at Home

Men

Attendance at College	Attendance at Home					Total No. %	
	Every Sun.	Twice a month	Once a month	Special occasions	Never		
Every Sunday	32.0	10.5	7.8	3.6	0.0	54	13.6
Twice a month	10.9	18.4	5.9	1.4	0.0	26	6.5
Once a month	21.9	13.2	39.2	10.0	5.0	69	17.4
Special occasions	22.7	55.6	31.4	52.9	20.0	147	37.0
Never	12.5	5.3	15.7	32.1	75.0	101	25.5
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
Total No	128	38	51	140	40	397	

4 cases of no information are omitted from this table.

The actual numbers in each column on which percentages are based are, respectively: 41, 14, 28, 29, 16; 4, 7, 5, 20, 2; 4, 3, 20, 16, 8; 5, 2, 14, 74, 45; 0, 0, 2, 8, 30.

Women

Attendance at College	Attendance at Home					Total No. %	
	Every Sun.	Twice a month	Once a month	Special occasions	Never		
Every Sunday	43.9	27.0	11.6	9.2	5.6	83	27.5
Twice a month	15.1	24.3	7.0	4.6	5.5	37	12.3
Once a month	19.4	16.2	34.9	18.5	27.8	65	21.4
Special occasions	19.4	27.0	37.2	53.8	44.4	96	31.8
Never	2.2	5.5	9.3	13.9	16.7	21	7.0
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
Total No	139	37	43	65	18	302	

2 cases of no information are omitted from this table.

The actual numbers in each column on which percentages are based are, respectively: 61, 21, 27, 27, 3; 10, 9, 6, 10, 2; 5, 3, 15, 16, 4; 6, 3, 12, 35, 9; 1, 1, 5, 8, 3.

at home follow this pattern quite closely after coming to college. There is some breaking away, but few of the women never attend and, of those who never attend at home, only 16.7 per cent never attend while at college. Thus college influences tend to cause some students to attend church less frequently than they did at home, but, on the other hand, these influences cause other students who never attend church at home to attend at least occasionally while at college.

Relation of Class in College to Students' Church Attendance Now as Compared with Their Attendance on First Coming to College. Do most students attend church more, about the same, or less than they did when they first came to college? Is there a gradual decline in the number who attend more and an increase in those who attend less as the students progress through college? Table III shows that most

Table III
Percentage Distribution of Comparative Frequency of Attendance by Class in College

Men

Attend	Fr.	Soph.	Jr	Sr.	Grad.	Total No.	%
More	15.1	9.3	9.6	18.1	8.3	51	13.1
Same	50.0	58.7	62.6	62.5	50.0	220	56.7
Less	34.9	32.0	27.8	19.4	41.7	117	30.2
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
Total No.	146	75	83	72	12	388	

13 cases of no information are omitted from this table

The actual numbers in each column on which percentages are based are, respectively: 22, 73, 51; 7, 44, 24; 8, 52, 23; 13, 45, 14; 1, 6, 5.

Women

Attend	Fr.	Soph.	Jr	Sr.	Grad.	Total No.	%
More	16.9	14.3	14.9	17.3	0.0	46	15.3
Same	49.2	48.6	31.9	42.3	38.5	134	44.7
Less	33.9	37.1	53.2	40.4	61.5	120	40.0
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
Total No.	118	70	47	52	13	300	

4 cases of no information are omitted from this table.

The actual numbers in each column on which percentages are based are, respectively: 20, 58, 40; 10, 34, 26, 7, 15, 25; 9, 22, 21; 0, 5, 8.

students feel that they attend the same as they did when they came to college, but there is a large percentage who attend less. It is rather surprising that there is a higher percentage (40.0) of the women who attend less than of the men (30.2), inasmuch as the women in this study were found to be consistently more active in the church than the men.

The Chi-square test failed to show any significant differences when those who attend more, the same, or less, respectively, than when they first came to college were segregated as to class in school. One trend, however, is worth noting. The percentages in each class who attend less show opposite trends for the undergraduate men and the undergraduate women. Among the men, the percentage of those who attend less is highest for the freshmen (34.9), and there is a continuous decrease to the senior class, where only 19.4 per cent attend less. The trend for the women is in the opposite direction, for the percentage of those who attend less is lowest for the freshmen (33.9) and increases to the junior class, where 53.2 per cent attend less. These differences prove to be significant when tested by the critical ratio method.

STUDENT RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

Comparison of Student Frequency of Bible-Reading, Reading of Religious Books, Praying, and Devotional Feeling From Table IV, it will be seen that, in so far as the students' reports can be accepted as accurate, some degree of traditional religious practices accompanies the fairly orthodox religious beliefs which were found in the study from which this material is reported. The majority of the students do pray and even a greater majority experience a feeling of reverence, devotion, or dependence upon a Supreme Being. More of the women report these experiences than do the men, and report that they have them more frequently. But when it comes to reading the Bible or other religious books, over half of the men and 45 per cent of the women report they never do. Either the reading of the Bible or other religious books is not regarded by these students as an important part of their religious life, or else it involves more effort and inconvenience than other things, and is therefore neglected, or else these students are more frank in admitting their negligence in Scripture-reading than in other phases of their religious activity. Perhaps the Bible is becoming out of date in the modern college student's point of view.

Table IV
Comparison of Student Frequency of Certain Religious Practices
Men

Frequency	Bible-reading		Reading religious books		Praying		Devotional feeling	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Daily	8	2.0	4	0.9	61	15.3	41	10.4
Frequently	10	2.5	15	3.7	46	11.5	78	19.7
Occasionally	64	16.9	61	15.2	71	17.8	106	26.9
Rarely	91	22.8	88	21.9	56	14.0	60	15.2
Never	226	56.7	233	58.3	164	41.4	109	27.8
Total per cent		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0
Total cases	399		401		398		394	
No-information cases omitted	2		0		3		7	

Women

Frequency	Bible-reading		Reading religious books		Praying		Devotional feeling	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No	%
Daily	9	3.0	2	0.6	99	32.9	72	24.4
Frequently	19	6.3	23	7.5	65	21.6	72	24.4
Occasionally	65	21.4	68	22.4	61	20.3	74	25.1
Rarely	73	24.1	74	24.4	32	10.6	40	13.5
Never	137	45.2	136	45.1	44	14.6	37	12.6
Total per cent		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0
Total cases	303		303		301		295	
No-information cases omitted	1		1		3		9	

Student Participation in Church Activities. Do many students participate in such church activities as conducting Sunday School classes, acting as officers in auxiliary organizations, giving prepared talks of a religious nature, and leading prayer service or actively participating in it? The percentages in Table V show that very few—11.9 per cent of the men and 18.5 per cent of the women—participate in such activities. The great majority seem to prefer to be inactive, to be merely “spectators,” in their church services.

Table V
Student Participation in Church Activities

Student participation	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	45	11.9	54	18.5
No	334	88.1	238	81.5
Total per cent		100.0		100.0
Total number of cases	379		292	

34 cases of no information are omitted from this table.

Student Participation in Church Young People's Organizations at Home and at College. What apparent effect does college have on students' participation in church young people's organizations? Table VI shows that the great majority participate in young people's organizations at home, but that an even greater majority never participate

Table VI
Student Participation in Church Young People's Organizations at Home and at College

Frequency	At home				At college			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Regularly	76	19.0	71	23.4	20	5.0	25	8.2
Frequently	73	18.3	65	21.4	16	4.0	19	6.2
Occasionally	123	30.7	95	31.3	47	11.7	36	11.8
Never	128	32.0	72	23.9	316	79.3	223	73.8
Total per cent		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0
Total cases	400		303		399		303	

No-information

cases omitted	1		1		2		1
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while at college. Of those who do participate at college, only a few—5 per cent of the men and 8.2 per cent of the women—do so regularly. The situation in college may be caused by the diversity of student activities on the campus, or perhaps by the student's being away from home and parental influence.

Student Discussion of Religious Questions. Do the students manifest an interest in religion by discussing religious questions in their campus homes? The percentages in Table VII show that by far the greater majority of the students co-operating in this study report that

Table VII
Student Discussion of Religious Questions

Frequency of discussion	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
Frequently	46	11.6	43	14.2
Occasionally	171	43.1	163	54.1
Rarely	115	29.0	66	21.9
Never	65	16.3	29	9.8
Total per cent		100.0		100.0
Total number of cases	397		301	

7 cases of no information are omitted from this table.

they do discuss religious questions in their campus homes. This fits in with the findings of other investigations, which indicate that students are interested in religious questions. To be sure, only 11.6 per cent of the men and 14.2 per cent of the women report that they frequently discuss religious questions, but 43.1 per cent of the men and 54.1 per cent of the women discuss such questions occasionally. About one-fourth of these students, however, indicate that they rarely discuss religion. Not many report they never have religious discussions, only 9.8 per cent of the women and 16.3 per cent of the men.

Student Reasons for Present Religious Attitude. Do students attribute their religious attitudes to their home training, or do they feel that they have developed them by their own reading and thinking? The percentages in Table VIII reveal that over half—52.1 per cent of the men and 62.6 per cent of the women—give home training as the

Table VIII
Student Reasons for Present Religious Attitude

Student reasons	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
Home training	207	52.1	186	62.6
Contacts at school	17	4.3	6	2.0
Influence of minister	9	2.3	12	4.0
Revolt against early training	13	3.3	5	1.7
Own thinking and reading	151	38.0	88	29.7
Total per cent		100.0		100.0
Total number of cases	397		297	

11 cases of no information are omitted from this table.

reason for their religious attitudes, but that a large group—38.0 per cent of the men and 29.7 per cent of the women—state that their attitudes are due to their own thinking and reading. Probably little credence should be given to this large group who attribute the reason for their attitude to their own reading and thinking, however, as many probably marked it because it “sounds good.” The other reasons—contacts at school, influence of minister, and revolt against early training—have apparently affected only a few students.

Provision for Student Needs in Church Program. Does the religious program of the church meet the needs of the students? Half of the students, as is reported in Table IX, checked that the church does meet their needs fairly well, and the next largest group—19 per cent of the men and 30.6 per cent of the women—said that it provided for their needs completely. There is an apparent inconsistency, in that 69.8 per cent of the men and 80.6 per cent of the women say that the church meets their needs either completely or fairly well, whereas only 37.8 per cent of the men and 61.1 per cent of the women attend church once a month or oftener.² Only 28.6 per cent of the men and 30.2

Table IX
Provision for Student Needs in Church Program

Provision for needs	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
Completely	69	19.0	85	30.6
Fairly well	185	50.8	139	50.0
Scarcely at all	63	17.3	38	13.7
Not at all	47	12.9	16	5.7
Total per cent		100.0		100.0
Total number of cases	364		278	

63 cases of no information are omitted from this table

per cent of the women suggested changes which they felt would improve the program of the church. The fact that fewer than one-third of the students could suggest changes when about three-fourths were not completely satisfied with the church program indicates that the students had not done much thinking about this problem. The sixty-three no-information cases may be due to the fact that some students feel they have no religious needs

² See p. 273

Student Knowledge of the Teachings of the Church. Do students know the teachings of their church? As is shown in Table X, about half of the students feel that they know the teachings and doctrines of their church just fairly well, and a rather large group—37.9 per cent of the men and 28.6 per cent of the women—feel they know them only slightly. Few women, 10.5 per cent, and still fewer men, 3.0 per cent, believe that they know the teachings very well. Thus it would seem that the churches need to expand their educational program if their young people are to have a knowledge of church teachings.

Table X
Student Knowledge of the Teachings of the Church

Student knowledge	Males		Females	
	No	%	No	%
Very well	12	3.0	31	10.5
Fairly well	192	49.1	155	52.7
Slightly	148	37.9	84	28.6
Not at all	39	10.0	24	8.2
Total per cent		100.0		100.0
Total number of cases	391		294	

20 cases of no information are omitted from this table.

Conclusions It is indicated that college students do have an interest in religion, inasmuch as a majority (57.5 per cent) of those who participated in this investigation are members of a church and a greater majority—74.6 per cent of the men and 93.1 per cent of the women—attend church while at college, though this attendance is infrequent for many.

It was found that college influences cause some students to attend church less frequently than they did at home, but some students who never attend church at home indicated that they do attend at least occasionally while at college. That students do some thinking about religious problems is indicated by the fact that most of them report they discuss religion in their campus homes.

One particularly interesting point is the students' admission that they have little knowledge of the teachings of their church. Church officials can gather from this that their methods of teaching young people have been inadequate.

It would be interesting to take a new sample to ascertain what effect, if any, the war and the many problems it raised for young people had on the religious life of college students.

The findings of this study raise an interesting question. Why are the women students more orthodox in their religious activities than are the men? No attempt was made to answer this, though it would be worth while to attempt to do so through further investigation.

ERRATA

Errata for J. Horace Nunemaker's "Inquisition Papers of Mexico" on pages 4-73 of the present volume (XIV, No. 1)

Page 4, note 4, line 5. **for** (1926) **read** (1936).

Page 11, line 4: **for** circumsized **read** circumcised.

Page 17, lines 11 and 15: **for** circumsized **read** circumcised.

Page 19, last line: **for** [blank] **read** [blank].

Page 25, line 12: **for** donde no se **read** donde no, se.

Page 26, line 13: **for** donde no haçerse **read** donde no, haçerse.

Page 28, line 9: **for** donde no haçerse **read** donde no, haçerse.

Page 29, line 1: **for** *Digesta* **read** *Digesta*.

note 10, line 1: **for** his **read** this.

Page 30, line 7: **for** donde no se **read** donde no, se.

Page 33, line 31: **for** Doctor Don Antonio de Gaudiola [*rúbrica*] **read** otros sirba de exemplo.

Page 35, last marginal note, line 1: **for** que **read** que.

Page 37, line 11: **for** señor **read** señor.

Page 41, line 34: **for** que la hauia **read** que le hauia.

Page 45, line 17: **for** a hermano **read** a su hermano.

Page 50, line 13: **for** *inquisidor* **read** *inquisidor*.

Page 53, line 20: **for** no se **read** no, se.

Page 57, line 30: **for** que **read** que.

Page 58, line 35: **for** no se **read** no, se.

Page 63, fourth marginal note, line 4: **for** Moysen **read** de Moysen.

Page 68, line 28: **for** haçer señal **read** haçer vna señal.

Page 72, line 9: **for** nom **read** nom-.

Page 73, line 20: **for** condemnaçion con **read** condemnaçion, con.

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RESEARCH STUDIES OF THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

Volume XIV

1946



Published at the State College of Washington
Pullman, Washington

33316
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